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LORD NELSON. K.B.

&c. &c. &c.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE IN THE BOARD ROOM OF THE ADMIRALTY. & PRESENTED

TO THE HON^BLE ROBERT FULKE GREVILLE (1848.) TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADM

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

VICE-ADMIRAL

LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, K.B.

DUKE OF BRONTÉ, ETC. ETC. ETC.

L. 864

BY

THOMAS JOSEPH PETTIGREW, F.R.S. F.S.A.

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN;
ETC. ETC. ETC.

140792 a

Resplendet gloria [illegible]
Armati referam vires?

Claudian de Laud. Stil.

"A spirit equal to all undertakings, and resources fitted to all occasions."

Lord Collingwood.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

T. AND W. BOONE, 29, NEW BOND STREET.

MDCCCXLIX.

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NOTICE.

SINCE the completion of the printing of this work, the country has been unhappily deprived of the services of the Earl of Auckland, First Lord of the Admiralty, to whom these pages are inscribed, not only with his sanction, but with the expression of the gratification he should feel in having his name connected with that of one of England's greatest Naval Heroes. The private friends of the Noble Lord have equally with the public to deplore the sudden and unexpected decease of his Lordship, which it is not too much to assume was in some measure occasioned by the great attention he had paid to the arduous duties of the office he had the honour to hold in Her Majesty's Government.

January 15th, 1849.

DEDICATION.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF AUCKLAND, G.C.B.

FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY,

ETC. ETC. ETC.

My Lord,

To no individual can the Memoirs of one of England's greatest and most beloved Admirals be more appropriately inscribed, than to the First Lord of the Admiralty of Great Britain.

I eagerly embrace the opportunity afforded me by your Lordship's kind acquiescence in my wishes, to express my hope, that England may long enjoy the services of your Lordship, in presiding over the Naval department of this country with that zeal, ability, and independence which has ever characterized your Lordship in your public career.

Personally, also, I am proud to acknowledge the attentions I have always received from your Lordship, and have the honour to subscribe myself,

Your Lordship's

Most faithful and obliged servant,

THOMAS JOSEPH PETTIGREW.

Saville Row,
December 26, 1848.

PREFACE.

THE various Biographies of Lord Nelson by Clarke and McArthur, Charnock, White, Churchill, Harrison, and at a later period, Southey, may reasonably be presumed to have exhausted the materials relating to the history of England's most highly esteemed, brave, and patriotic Admiral; but the recent voluminous publication of his Dispatches and Letters, under the editorial care of the late Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, added to the discovery of his Private Correspondence, extending from 1798 to the day of his death, now in my possession, will be found to throw new light upon many of the transactions in which he was engaged; and also, to afford illustrations of his mind and character, which nothing but his private and unrestrained correspondence could possibly afford. There is a delicacy, however, necessary to be preserved under such circumstances, with regard to the individuals concerned, and this delicacy would have been most especially demanded in the case of Lord Nelson in relation to Lady Hamilton, had he not himself made the matter a subject of history by naming her and his child Horatia in a Codicil to his Will on the day of his death, and leaving them as a testamentary bequest to his country.

It was in the year 1806, that a Mr. Harrison put forth, under the sanction of Lady Hamilton, "The Life of Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson," in 2 vols. 8vo. This work was compiled under the eye of Lady Hamilton, and it is not unreasonable to suppose, tinctured by the opinions of the author's patroness, whose kindness and confidence was ill-requited by his printing, in 1814, a Collection of Private Letters, having no apparently ostensible or justifiable object, nor tending to

the elucidation of any matter of public interest, without the knowledge or sanction of Lady Hamilton, and occasioning to this unfortunate woman an undeserved portion of censure. Whatever may be said of the indelicacy or impropriety of such a publication, and I will admit the full justice of the severe censure passed upon it at the time by the *Edinburgh Review*, there can be no doubt of the genuineness of the epistles. They formed a portion of the Correspondence which appears in a connected form in this work, and were abstracted from Lady Hamilton's collections. Had not this imperfect and injudicious portion previously appeared, and other letters since furnished to Sir Harris Nicolas, and printed by him at the conclusion of his collection of "Dispatches and Letters," and had not the public been so well acquainted with the intimacy which existed between Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton, an intimacy which no means whatever had been taken to conceal from the public eye, I might have felt considerable hesitation in printing some of the letters which are now for the first time laid before the public in these volumes, although nearly half a century has elapsed since they were written.

If it were possible, consistently with what is due to justice, to have given publicity to the private opinions of Lord Nelson on the passing events of his time, and of the transactions in which he was concerned, without unveiling the foibles and weaknesses of his nature, the task would have been more refreshing than it has proved to be; but when imperfect and prejudiced statements are put forth under sanction which gives great weight to the narration, the demands of truth are imperative, and the publication of that which certainly was never intended for the public eye, or the general gaze, becomes justified.

It has been, and not without justice, remarked by Sir Harris Nicolas, that in most of the Memoirs of Lord Nelson, and in many of the publications in which the letters of this

celebrated man have been printed, they have, upon examination with the originals, appeared to have been incorrectly given. A particular omission, if relating solely to any private matter, or individual, may be justified; but to attempt to alter the style of the writer, to dress up his phraseology, and to give to the rude thought of the moment a polish which never belonged to it, and ill-agreeing with the character or views of the writer, is unpardonable. That license has not been taken in the present work; the reader will find that many instances of ungrammatical propriety have been permitted to remain rather than to incur the charge of a liberty or fault such as has just been noticed. The only liberty I have taken has been to omit numerous expressions of endearment which might be offensive to the general reader, and are unquestionably unnecessary as regards the intelligence or information the letters are intended to convey. The value of the letters now printed, is, I conceive, that they give the expression of the precise feelings of the man at the moment when the occurrences to which they allude took place, and I have deemed it more in character with their nature to submit them as a sort of running commentary upon the events of his life during the period embraced by them. The part relating to Lady Hamilton's personal history, and the investigation of her claims upon the gratitude of her country, I have thought it advisable to separate from the more general biography, and to arrange in the form of two Supplementary Chapters.

When Lord Nelson's Private Correspondence first came into my hands, it was my intention simply to have made a selection from the mass, and to have printed it as a Supplement to the Dispatches and Letters; but upon a particular examination, I found it to extend over so lengthened a period, that also being one in which the principal events of his life occurred, that it would have required so many references for elucidation, and so many corrections of previous statements, or notice of trifling peculiarities, as to have occasioned equal

embarrassment to the editor and the reader. I resolved, therefore, in order, as I conceived, to do justice to the subject, to embody the whole in the form of a narrative, as now submitted to the public, and to effect this, it became necessary to sketch out or frame a general biography. In this work I have not been guided by any preceding Biography that has appeared of Lord Nelson; but have constructed it principally by a diligent perusal of his Public Dispatches, Orders, and Letters, as deposited in the Admiralty, and in the Collection derived from that and other sources published by Sir Harris Nicolas already alluded to. Many of the documents now preserved in the Record Office of the Admiralty have been printed in this Collection; I have, therefore, felt it unnecessary again to publish them entire, which would have extended this work beyond the limits desirable in such an undertaking; but merely to give extracts from such as were necessary to display the course of Nelson's career, and illustrate the various operations in which he was engaged. I have preferred giving references to these documents as already published, and therefore accessible to the general reader; although I have had the advantage of consulting the originals, and of being permitted to take copies of any papers I required relating to Nelson now in the Admiralty. I should be wanting in gratitude to every officer of this Department of the Public Service, from the First Lord down to the Clerks, if I were not in an especial manner to offer my most sincere thanks for the facilities which have been so generously afforded me on this occasion. My thanks are more immediately and especially due to Captain William A. B. Hamilton, Second Secretary of the Admiralty; to my much esteemed friends, Thomas Crofton Croker, Esq., of the Commission Department; and John Barrow, Esq., Head of the Record Department;[1] all of

[1] I cannot make mention of Mr. Barrow's name without noticing the great care he has bestowed in classifying, arranging, and binding into volumes, some of the most interesting and valuable documents connected with the Naval History of

whom have vied with each other in rendering me assistance, whilst the liberal loan of Works and MS. Indexes from the Library of the Admiralty to ensure accuracy in all the details, have enabled me, I trust, to verify and to correct statements which have appeared, not only as regards Lord Nelson himself, but also the services of his contemporaries and those who so gloriously served under his command. The number of Biographical Sketches, which, with the assistance of the works of Mr. James, Captain Brenton, Lieutenant Marshall, the Naval Chronicle, &c., I have been enabled to append to these pages, will, I flatter myself, not be less acceptable to the public, than they must of necessity be to the Naval profession. Having thus made my acknowledgments to those individuals and sources whence I have been able to accomplish this part of my undertaking, it remains to say a few words with regard to some portion of the contents for the first time appearing before the public, as those relate to some of the most important concerns in the hero's career. They especially refer to the transactions at Naples, and the correspondence of the Queen of Naples with Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton.

To any one jealous of the honour and glory of England it cannot but be painful to observe the almost universal condemnation with which Lord Nelson's conduct, in regard to the trial and execution of Francisco Caracciolo, and the repudiation of the Treaty of Capitulation of the Castles of Uovo and Nuovo have been received; but it appears to me the censure has been too freely bestowed, and without a careful and dispassionate examination of the circumstances. To deny the ferocity of the Queen of Naples, and the malignity

this country. Having had occasion to refer to the Nelson Dispatches, I was much struck with the extent and the arrangement of the Records of the Department, by which I was enabled immediately to obtain that which I required, and I am most happy in this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Mr. Barrow, and high appreciation of his well-directed and judicious labours.

of Lady Hamilton in regard to Caracciolo so freely assumed and positively stated by all writers, would almost appear to be absurd, and to wilfully assert that which was contrary to all belief; yet I flatter myself that the private letters of her Majesty printed in the succeeding pages—letters written in full and entire confidence to Lady Hamilton—never intended for the public eye, and composed as the events of the day occurred, will serve to relieve her Majesty from the charges so repeatedly urged against her, and so injurious to her memory. In all the letters in which Caracciolo is mentioned, who it must never be forgotten was a traitor, and carried arms against his own Sovereign, her Majesty rather deplores his madness than accuses him of crime: "J'ai vus aussi la triste et merité fin du malheureux et forcené Caracciolo. Je sens bien tout ce que votre Excellent Cœur aura souferte et celle augmente ma reconnoissance."[1] No delight is expressed at the shedding of his blood, or the severity of his punishment, and as to the part which Lady Hamilton appears actually to have taken on the occasion, the report so repeatedly stated that she was present to witness his execution is, and must be, entirely without foundation, as she was during the whole of the time in the cabin with Sir William Hamilton, and Lord Nelson was in his own separate cabin apart from them. Sir James Mackintosh[2] is therefore not warranted in describing Lady Hamilton as "a ferocious woman, who lowered the illustrious name of an English matron to the level of a Parisian fishwoman," nor as one making "our chosen hero an instrument in deeds of cruelty and dishonour." He is not justified in stating Nelson to have been "seduced into barbarity, and public as well as private perfidy;" nor when alluding to the execution of Caracciolo is he warranted in speaking of it as "an act which I forbear to characterize." Yet this same able writer can speak of a man under such

[1] Letter of the 2nd of July, 1799, from the Queen to Lady Hamilton.

[2] Life of Sir James Mackintosh, Vol. ii. p. 137.

circumstances, and with such impressions, or rather, in his mind, convictions respecting him, as having a soul full of honour and humanity, that he never punished a seaman without having his nerves convulsed at seeing him punished, and that he was the man whom the sailors called, 'Nel, bold as a lion, and mild as a lamb.' Strangely contradictory this! but in what manner does he attempt to account for this extraordinary contrariety of character?

"Nelson (he says) had gone from his parsonage to sea; where, in five years, he had become the greatest of Englishmen. Art, politeness, flattery, magnificence, and beauty, acted upon his unworn sensibility. The daughter of Maria Theresa was on her knees to him as a deliverer. Meretricious beauty poured all its blandishments on the uncultivated sailor. The arts, in the degraded state when they cease to deserve the name of liberal, and become the wretched slaves of sense, were still the land of prodigies to him. He had a just indignation against the crimes of his enemies, and, more especially, the dastardly treason of the Neapolitan nobility. He had not been taught to value, nor accustomed to consider the forms, without which the substance of justice cannot be preserved. He believed the prisoners, or their ringleaders, to deserve death; and he thought that the existence of the government required a terrible example; and, perhaps, in themselves, both these opinions were right. From a just detestation of that irresolution which had ruined so many governments, he fell into the prevalent error of supposing that nothing deserves the name of energetic policy but undistinguishing violence; and thus, by errors in judgment, by the excess of justifiable feelings, by the drunkenness of guilty passion, and the maddening power of political fanaticism, he was driven into these deplorable acts. I shall not even extenuate them. I hope there is no creature who has a greater abhorrence of perfidy and cruelty than I have. I verily believe that there is no character in history, but that

of Nelson, which I should love, after imputing to it such crimes."

Such eloquence is truly dangerous, being calculated to divert from the truth, and therefore deserving of the severest reprehension. Should the statements made in the IXth Chapter of this Biography tend to counteract the injurious opinions thus excited, I shall be truly gratified. My object has been, without prejudice, to state the facts of the case as far as the evidence in our possession will enable them to be displayed; and it is exceedingly to be regretted, that no statement proceeding from Nelson himself, on this subject, is upon record. His soul was, however, too generous to have yielded to any improper influence or wicked impulse. He was the soul of honour—the slightest suspicion of his sincerity was sufficient to rouse his most violent feelings. His letters, when accused at Genoa,[1] mark the character of the man and his most susceptible disposition; and will it be supposed that when human life was the subject of consideration, he would be less sensitive or tenacious? He was one as described by our Immortal Bard, and one who might with Hector truly say:—

> "Mine honour keeps the weather of my fate:
> Life every man holds dear; but the dear man
> Holds honour far more precious-dear than life."
>
> TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act v. sc. iii.

The papers relating to the Treaty of Capitulation of the Castles of Uovo and Nuovo, emanating from the King and Queen of Naples to Lord Nelson, investing him with extraordinary powers, and solemnly denying the right of Cardinal Ruffo to treat with the rebels, or conclude any treaty without the sanction of his Sicilian Majesty, and the observations of the Queen upon each separate article of the Treaty will, I hope, serve to place the position of Lord Nelson in a

[1] See Vol. i. page 72.

different point of view to that in which, by many, it has been considered in this affair.

These appear to me the principal points to which it is essential to refer in these prefatory remarks; the various points of his character, as exhibited throughout his career, and upon which the estimate of his merits must be formed, I have endeavoured to bring under review in the concluding chapter. I am only fearful that it has not been in my power to do justice to the magnitude of my subject, and that to many it may appear extraordinary that one whose life has been devoted to professional, scientific, and antiquarian researches, should have been tempted into the paths of Naval Biography. Although the subject has, as it were, come to me accidentally, it is one which has had a charm for me from my earliest years. The names of our great Naval Commanders, Rodney, Howe, Hood, and St. Vincent, have always been in my remembrance, and the details of their glorious achievements poured into my ear by an affectionate parent, who, as Surgeon of the Barfleur and the Victory, formed part of that band who really constituted the bulwarks of the country. A familiarity with these subjects, and an intercourse of no very limited nature during my life with naval men, has made the labour to me one of great pleasure and satisfaction, for many of those who stood forth and proudly boasted of having been of Nelson's chosen band I have had the honour to rank among my dearest friends.

In committing my work to the public judgment, I must say a word or two with regard to the Illustrations. For these I am proud to acknowledge my obligations: in the first place, to the Lords of the Admiralty, for their permission so graciously accorded to me to engrave the portrait of Lord Nelson by Leonardo Guzzardi, which now ornaments the Board Room of the Admiralty, and which exhibits the hero at a very interesting period of his life. It was painted for Sir William Hamilton at Palermo in 1799, one year after the

Battle of the Nile, and upon his recovery from a severe attack of fever. This exceedingly interesting portrait, in which he appears with the Plume of Triumph, the diamond Aigrette, presented to him by the Grand Signior, agrees so entirely with what has been expressed by a noble writer in the Westminster Review for January, 1848, that I cannot forbear transcribing the following passage: "Those, indeed, who look upon the portraits, for the most part indifferent ones, of this celebrated man, some of which fitly adorn the antechambers of our Kings,—see the frail, wan, and wasted form, mutilated with wounds; yet, in the pale, melancholy features, which Vandyke would have loved to paint, in the silent eloquence of the blue, thoughtful eye, may be discovered the traces of that indomitable spirit which actuated the leader, and was successfully infused by him into his followers. In looking at the likeness, in recalling the many recorded traits of his gentle, yet enthusiastic nature, his warm religious emotions, his ardent personal enterprise, we fancy we can comprehend the confidence and attachment he inspired among those who served under him." This statement is no less true than well expressed, for although the portraits of Nelson are numerous, they are not remarkable for their excellence, and I hope, therefore, in adding two more engravings from original and genuine sources, I am effecting a desirable object. The second portrait of Lord Nelson, by A. W. Devis, is highly interesting, in having been the last taken of the Immortal Hero—it is unfinished, and was executed just before his departure for Trafalgar, the last, therefore, ever painted from the life,[1] and for one who holds his memory most dear —one of his own 'band of brothers'—his Flag Captain at the Battle of the Nile—the bearer of his dispatches to

[1] A finished portrait either from the sketch in the possession of Sir T. B. Capel, or copy belonging to the artist, was engraved for Sir William Beatty's Narrative of the Death of Lord Nelson, and this picture which bears the date of September, 1806, is now in the possession of Mrs. Smith of Twickenham.

England on that glorious occasion—the Captain described in Nelson's letter of introduction of him to Lady Hamilton as "a son of Lord Essex, and a very good young man;"[1] the present Admiral the Honourable Sir Thomas Bladen Capel, K.C.B., Commander-in-chief at Portsmouth, to whom I beg to return my best thanks for his kind permission to engrave it, and to express my fervent hope that he may long live to enjoy the honours he has deservedly won by a most brilliant career of service.

Although the portraits have been numerous, it is remarkable that there is only one original bust of his Lordship. Lady Damer executed a bust of Nelson in marble and presented it to the City of London. It is now in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall, and appears to be the only one for which Nelson sat. Lady Damer writes to Lady Hamilton from Strawberry Hill, Oct. 31st, 1809: "I must not forget one thing on which I wished to speak to you, that is, that I understand a fine edition of Lord Nelson's Life is coming out soon (I conclude under the directions of the present Lord and his friends). I have the greatest desire, that in some way or other, no matter how shortly or how simply said, either in a note or otherwise, my having had the honour I prize so much, of that immortal Hero's having sat to me, and to me alone, for a sculptural bust, should be mentioned. To you, my dear Lady Hamilton, and to my kind friend, Sir William, you know I owe this favour, and *you* will not wonder at my ambition and my anxiety that such a circumstance which I know so well how to value, should be recorded in a manner never to be forgotten, and that my name should thus be (if I may so term it), joined to the most brilliant name England ever gave birth to.

"Your sincere and affectionate,

"ANNE S. DAMER."

[1] See Vol. i. page 140.

The engraving of the Danish line of Defence, at the attack on Copenhagen, April 2, 1801, is from an original drawing made for Lord Nelson, and sent home by him, intended to be framed and glazed, and placed in what he called "The Nelson Room," at Merton, which was intended to contain the various mementos of his battles. He describes this drawing as "correct to the minutest degree."[1]

The Fac-similes selected, are such as may be reasonably presumed of public interest. Independently of the autograph signatures of the King and Queen of Naples, the Emperor Paul, William IV., Victor Emanuel King of Sardinia, Prince Charles Felix of Savoye, Francisco Caracciolo, General Dumouriez, and the Rev. Edmund Nelson, the venerable father of Lord Nelson; there are those of Horatio Nelson, as subscribed by him to the Oath of Allegiance in the Admiralty, on the 11th of April, 1777, two days after passing his examination for Lieutenant; Horatio Nelson prior to losing his arm; Sir Horatio Nelson after the Battle off Cape St. Vincent, and after the loss of his arm; Nelson as a Peer of the Realm; Bronté Nelson of the Nile, after receiving the Ducal title and estate from his Sicilian Majesty; and Nelson and Bronté, which was used by him to the time of his death, and taken from the last letter he ever wrote; there are also separate fac-similes of his first letter as a Peer, proving his knowledge of his elevation as early as the 16th of October, 1798; an interesting letter of thanks to Lord Nelson from the Queen of Naples, the Prince Leopold (afterwards Prince of Salerno, who married Maria Clementina, daughter of the Emperor of Austria); the Princess Christina (afterwards married to Carlo Felice, King of Sardinia); Amelia (afterwards Duchess of Orleans, the present ex-Queen of the French); and the Princess Antoinette; verses written by Lord Nelson on the night of the day on which the action at

[1] Vol. ii. p. 50.

Copenhagen was fought; Lord Nelson's summary of his wounds at the close of the war in 1801; and Lord Nelson's letter, acknowledging the receipt of the Queen of Naples' letter to the Governor of Syracuse, by which he was enabled to water and provision his fleet, and to fight the Battle of the Nile.

Of the portraits of Lady Hamilton, one was executed by George Romney, R.A., and formed part of his effects at the time of his death. It was purchased by the Right Hon. Lord Northwick, who has kindly granted me the use of it, and to whom Lady Hamilton was well known, both at Naples and in England. It represents her in the pride of health and beauty, exhibiting to great perfection those charming features over which she could exercise such infinite variety of expression. The outline by my late friend Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A., to whom also Lady Hamilton was well known, has been most kindly lent to me by Charles Denham, Esq.

There is an exquisite whole-length portrait of Lady Hamilton, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, in the dining-room at Stanmore Priory, forming a companion picture to the one of Lady Charlotte Bury, by the same eminent artist. Neither of these beautiful works of art, have, I believe, been yet engraved. I have, however, gratefully to acknowledge the liberality of the Marquis of Abercorn, in offering to me the portrait of Lady Hamilton for this work, should it have been required. Lord Northwick's kindness rendered it unnecessary at the present time.

To conclude the list of my obligations, I have particularly to return my thanks to the present noble and worthy bearer of the well-earned title of the Great Admiral, and in doing this, I may perhaps be excused expressing my deep regret that the Ducal title and estate, of which Lord Nelson was so justly proud, being bestowed upon him for his salvation of Naples, by the glorious Battle of the Nile, has not descended along with the English Peerage. Nelson without Bronté will

ever be great, but Bronté without Nelson is insignificant. The Bronté estate was left by Viscount Nelson's Will, in the same manner as the title is to English Peerages. First, to his brother William, and his children male; second, to his sisters, and their children male. Upon the death of Viscount Nelson, William, his brother, was created an Earl, whose only son, Horatio Viscount Trafalgar, died January 17th, 1808, at the age of 19, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, under the centre of the dome, by the side of the remains of his uncle. The sister of this youth, Lady Charlotte, married Lord Bridport. The English title, therefore, descended to Thomas Bolton, the male issue of Viscount Nelson's eldest sister. Shortly before the first Earl's death (Earl William), he attempted to alienate the Bronté estate in favour of his daughter, Lady Bridport, and out of respect to the known wishes of the Viscount, the second Earl, Thomas, and afterwards the third, Horatio (the present), instituted and continued a suit in Chancery, *v.* Lord Bridport, for the Bronté estate. The suit was however decided against Earl Nelson by the Master of the Rolls. The arguments in this case, his Lordship tells me, were much to the following effect:—An alteration had been made in the law of the Two Sicilies which prevented the Bronté estate from being left as the Viscount intended; but at the same time empowered the sale of estates so willed in order that the proceeds might be laid out elsewhere, and follow the will of the Testator. Lord Bridport could not deny the intention of the Viscount in his Will, but contended that Earl William could not be *obliged* to sell, that being only a *permissive*, not a *compulsory act*. The whole discussion then rested on the state and meaning of the Sicilian law, and so doubtful was the matter, that Lord Langdale, in giving his judgment, confessed that no two Judges might entertain the same opinion on the subject.

By the loss of this suit, the present Earl is deprived of one of the honours most highly prized by his great uncle, and also the

heir-looms which he had left with the title and estate of Bronté. The Diamond Plume (seen in the Portrait) given by the Sultan, the diamond-hilted Sword by the King of Naples, are gone out of the line of the English title, as well as the Bronté title, which, it may be presumed, Lady Bridport is now enabled to assume. One feeling only, and that of deep regret, must be entertained, that such memorials, of no value in themselves, except in connection with the history of the glorious deeds for which they were bestowed, should be so separated from the bearers of that title, which the country decreed should go down to posterity as the grateful tribute of a nation to unequalled skill, bravery, and patriotic ardour.

NOMEN IN EXEMPLUM SUO SERVABIMUS ÆVO.

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[1] See Errata and Additions.

ERRATA AND ADDITIONS.

Vol. I. p. 153, line 29, *for* "It stands upon a peninsula upon," *read* "The city stands upon a peninsula betwixt."

——— 157, line 15, *for* "Dolomien," *read* "Dolomieu."

——— 189, note, line 17, *for* "Abercrombie," *read* "Abercromby."

——— 234, note. The Sedili at Naples are stated to have been two in number; but I learn that there were four, viz. Sedile San Giuseppe, Sedile di Porto o Penino, Sedile di Porta Capuane, and Sedile di Porta Nolana. Their origin is very ancient—when the City was divided into four quarters. From the four Sedili or Parliaments, a commission of 21 members was chosen, who communicated with the King as a Senate. The objects of the Assemblies were as stated in the note, but the abolition of them by the King took place upon his return from the Congress at Laybach.

——— 377, line 5, *for* "Sorrentina," *read* "Sorrentino."

——— 400, line 11, *for* "or," *read* "for."

Vol. II. p. 297, line 22 in note, *for* "1795," *read* "1793."

——— 376, note, last line, *for* "Dr. Moseley," *read* "William Moseley."

——— 436. The fac-simile of the autograph of Victor Emanuel has been omitted, and is therefore here given:—

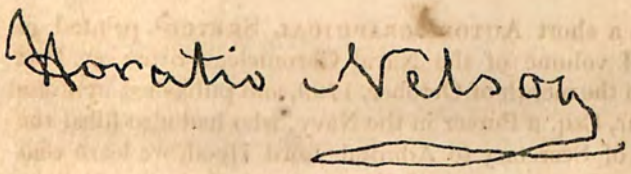
——— 539. The inscription written by R. B. Sheridan, Esq., M.P., was for the monument in Guildhall, not that in St. Paul's as stated.

11 April 1777

Horatio Nelson

From Oath of Allegiance in the Admiralty Records.

Admiralty Records.



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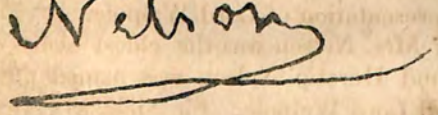

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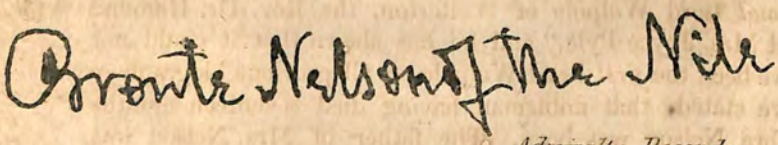

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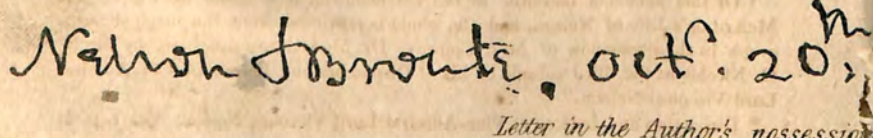

Letter in the Author's possession.

T. Crofton Croker, lithog.

LIFE OF LORD NELSON.

CHAPTER I.

1758—1784.

FROM a short AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH[1] printed in the third volume of the Naval Chronicle, written at Port Mahon in the month of October, 1799, and published by John McArthur, Esq. a Purser in the Navy, who had also filled the situation of Secretary to Admiral Lord Hood, we learn that HORATIO NELSON, son of Edmund and Catherine Nelson, was born September 29, 1758, in the county of Norfolk at Burnham Thorpe. Of this village the Rev. Edmund Nelson was Rector, upon the presentation of Lord Walpole.

The grandmother of Mrs. Nelson was the eldest sister of Sir Robert Walpole, and Horatio Nelson was named after his godfather the second Lord Walpole. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas states[2] the sponsors of Horatio to have been "Horatio *second* Lord Walpole of Wolterton, the Rev. Dr. Hamond and Mrs. Joyce Pyle," and he has shewn that it could not have been the *first* Lord Walpole, as all previous biographers have stated, that nobleman having died seventeen months before Nelson was born. The father of Mrs. Nelson was

[1] Of this sketch a facsimile of the commencement is given in Clarke and McArthur's Life of Nelson, and the whole is reprinted from the original autograph in the possession of Mrs. Conway, Dr. McArthur's daughter, by Sir N. H. Nicolas in the third volume of his "Dispatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson."

[2] Dispatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, Vol. i. p. 1.

the Rev. Dr. Suckling, a Prebendary of Westminster, and Rector of Barsham in Suffolk, and Woodton in Norfolk, and a descendant from the family to which the celebrated Sir John Suckling belonged.

Horatio Nelson was the fifth son and sixth child of a family of eleven children, eight of whom were living at the time of the decease of their mother, which took place in 1767. At this time, therefore, he was only nine years of age, and his maternal uncle Maurice Suckling, a Captain in the Navy, upon the death of his sister, generously offered to take charge of one of the boys. This offer appears in a few years to have been of a most acceptable nature, as we learn that upon the appointment of Captain Suckling to the command of the Raisonable, a ship of 64 guns, appearing in a county newspaper, and being read by Horatio Nelson, then only twelve years of age, whilst his father was at Bath for the recovery of his health, he became urgent with his brother William, who was his elder by eighteen months, to write to his uncle, and acquaint him that he was desirous of accompanying him to sea. This intimation seems to have somewhat startled the worthy Captain, who knowing him to be physically weaker than his brothers, inquires, "What has poor Horatio done, who is so weak, that he, above all the rest, should be sent to rough it at sea?" But, as his father offered no objection, and from what had been observed of his character and his determination always to be at "the top of the tree," had rather encouraged his resolution, he added, "But let him come; and the first time we go into action, a cannon ball may knock off his head and provide for him at once."

The education of Horatio Nelson, it may be readily presumed, could have been but of a very slight character:—weak in body, reduced by attacks of ague, and only twelve years of age, he could not have had many opportunities for learning, although he had been placed in a school at Downham, in Norfolk, and also at the school of North Walsham. Captain George W. Manby, whose ingenious contrivances and benevolent exertions for the preservation of human life from shipwreck, are well known and appreciated, is now perhaps the only surviving schoolfellow of Nelson. He was with him at Downham Market, a school, he says, altogether for

children, and kept by a man of the name of Noakes. Nelson is recollected as having worn a green coat, and he frequently employed his schoolfellows at the pump in the market-place, amusing himself by launching paper boats into the stream, and delighted to watch their course down the gutter, which then ran in the middle of the street. My learned and excellent friend, Mr. Dawson Turner of Yarmouth, was at North Walsham school in 1783, twelve years after Nelson had left it, at which time there were those who had been well acquainted with his schoolfellows, and who delighted in telling anecdotes of Nelson, who had then already risen into notice, and excited interest. They enumerated many of his odd doings and daring tricks. His name was also cut upon one of the seats at church, but that is now lost. Mr. Wales, a medical practitioner at Downham, recollected an anecdote told by William Patman, a cordwainer, which is strikingly illustrative of the tenderness of heart he manifested in after life. One day going to his shoemaker, upon entering the house he accidentally jammed a pet lamb between the door and the door-post, and cried bitterly at the pain he had occasioned the poor animal.

Horatio Nelson entered the Navy in December, 1770, as a midshipman of the Raisonable, where, however, as the dispute which had at that time arisen with Spain relative to a harbour in the Falkland Islands was soon settled, he remained only five months, being then sent aboard a merchant ship bound to the West Indies, commanded by Mr. John Rathbone, who had formerly been in the Navy, and served with Captain Suckling in the Dreadnought, 60 guns. The captain of the merchantman had suffered disappointment in his views as to the Navy, and entertained no good will to the service. He failed not to infuse a portion of this ill feeling into Horatio Nelson, who, in the Autobiographical Sketch previously referred to, says, "If I did not improve in my education, I returned a practical seaman, with a horror of the Royal Navy, and with a saying then constant with the seamen, '*Aft the most honour, forward the better man!*'" This prejudice had taken so firm a hold on the mind of Nelson, that it was some time ere it was dissipated, and he reconciled to his position and the service. The desire, however, of being "at the top of the tree," soon aroused his ambition, for, upon his

return from the West Indies, when being appointed Midshipman of the Triumph, 74 guns, a guard-ship in the Medway, stationed at Chatham, and under the command of Captain Suckling, he zealously exerted himself to become a good seaman, attended closely to navigation, and as a reward for his good conduct, was permitted to go in the cutter, and decked long-boat attached to the Commanding Officer's ship at Chatham. He has referred to this service as being very advantageous to him, for having frequently to go from Chatham to the Tower of London, down the Swin, and to the North Foreland, he acquired a knowledge of *pilotage*, which in after life became exceedingly useful, and to quote his own language, afforded him "the very greatest comfort." After serving on board the Triumph, where he was rated as "Captain's servant" for one year two months and two days; and "Midshipman," ten months, one week and five days, he was removed to the Carcass, Captain Skeffington Lutwidge; then to the Seahorse, Captain Farmer; and afterwards to the Dolphin, Captain James Pigott. During his term of service as Midshipman, which extended over a period of four years, it will be seen that he had the advantage of serving under commanders of distinguished ability.

Captain Lutwidge, who died an Admiral of the Red in August, 1814, is repeatedly mentioned, and with great respect and affection in several of his letters herein printed. Nelson was received by him as coxswain, boys being prohibited by the Admiralty from being employed on the voyage to the North Pole.

Captain George Farmer perished in the flames of the Quebec frigate, 32 guns, which took fire accidentally during an engagement with La Surveillante, of 40 guns, off Ushant, October 6, 1779. Although severely wounded, Captain Farmer refused to quit his ship, and was blown up with the vessel, the colours flying; his son was created a Baronet as a testimony of gratitude on the part of the nation to the services of his father. The contest between the Quebec and the Surveillante lasted three hours and a half, during which both ships were totally dismasted. The Quebec caught fire by the sails falling on the guns. Captain Farmer, with 150 men, perished on this melancholy occasion.

Captain J. Pigott lived to attain the rank of Admiral, dying September 27, 1822.

Under Captain Lutwidge Nelson served in the expedition towards the North Pole, undertaken upon the representation of the Earl of Sandwich to the King, in consequence of an application on the part of the Royal Society; the object of which was to discover how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole; and whether any passage could be discovered from the Arctic to the Pacific Ocean. This service was to be under the direction of Captain the Hon. Constantine John Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, a volunteer on the occasion.[1] Here Nelson exercised his skill in navigating amidst immense masses of ice, and he afterwards visited almost every part of the East Indies, from Bengal to Bussorah. His health became greatly disordered by this variety of service, and he was sent to England by the kindness of Sir Edward Hughes,[2] the Commander-in-chief in the East Indies, in the Dolphin. Having regained his health by a return to his native country, he was, upon the vessel being paid off, ordered to act as Lieutenant of the Worcester, 64 guns, Captain Mark Robinson, an officer who distinguished himself in Admiral Keppel's action, July 27, 1778, — served as a Lieutenant under Sir Edward Hawke in 1757, and was made Captain of the Vanguard in 1760. He was a very gallant officer, and died a superannuated Rear-Admiral in 1799, having lost a leg while commanding the Swiftsure in Admiral Graves's action

[1] Captain Phipps published "A Journal of a Voyage undertaken in 1773, by order of his present Majesty, for making discoveries towards the North Pole." Lond. 1774, 4to.

[2] This officer was descended from a respectable family in Hertford, and entered the naval service at an early age. After the taking of Porto Bello, he was promoted to a Lieutenancy in 1740. He afterwards sailed to Louisbourg, and was appointed by Commander Knowles to the Lark, of which he had the command. Feb. 6th, 1747, he was made Commodore. Towards the end of the war he was removed into the Neptune, 90 guns, and accompanied Sir Charles Saunders to the Mediterranean in 1760. On the East India station he was in the Isis, 50 guns, and remained there until succeeded by Sir Edward Vernon in 1777. Upon his return to England, he received the Order of the Bath, and was raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1778, and again sent to the East Indies. On his passage he succeeded in reducing Goree. In 1782 he was engaged in a battle with the French Admiral M. de Suffrein, which displayed the superiority of the British navy in those seas. He rose to be Admiral of the Blue, and died February 17, 1794.

off the Chesapeake, September 5, 1781. In the Worcester Nelson went to Gibraltar with a convoy, and he has proudly recorded the confidence placed in him by his commander, who did not hesitate to entrust him with the charge of a watch during very bad weather, and used to say he felt as easy when Nelson was upon deck, as any officer in the ship.

Having passed his examination for Lieutenant on the 9th of April, 1777, before a Board of which Captain Suckling was at the head,[1] having succeeded Sir Hugh Palliser, as a Comptroller of the Navy, he was appointed on the following day as Second Lieutenant to the Lowestoffe, 32 guns, Captain William Locker, whose heart Nelson won early by his noble and gallant bearing, on the occasion of the Lowestoffe taking an American letter of marque. The First Lieutenant was ordered by Captain Locker to board the vessel, but the sea ran so high, that he was unable to reach her, and returned without having effected his object. The Captain impetuously demanded whether he had an officer who could board the prize? The Master immediately offered, but was interrupted by Nelson, the Second Lieutenant, who exclaimed: "It is my turn now. If I come back it will be yours."[2] He

[1] An anecdote, much to the credit of Nelson's uncle has been recorded in relation to his nephew's passing his examination. The Board consisted of Captain Suckling, Captain John Campbell, and Captain Abraham North. Captain Suckling concealed his relationship to the candidate from the other Captains, until his examination was concluded in the most prompt and satisfactory manner. The uncle then introduced his nephew, and upon the Examining Captains expressing their surprise that he had not previously acquainted them with his relation, he replied, "I did not wish the younker to be favoured, I felt convinced that he would pass a good examination; and you see, gentlemen, I have not been disappointed." Captain Suckling was M.P. for Portsmouth, and died in July, 1778, leaving £500. to each of his sister's children. The sword belonging to him was given to Nelson, who constantly wore it when on service. He valued it very highly, and in Clarke and McArthur's Life of Nelson, (Vol. i. p. 26) a history is said to attach to it. It is supposed to have been the sword of the gallant Galfridus Walpole, who, in 1711, lost his right arm in the Mediterranean, when commanding the Lion, of 60 guns, in an action with four French ships, each mounting that number. In a letter to his brother William, Horatio Nelson designates the passing his examination for Lieutenant, as his degree as Master of Arts. From his uncle he received a paper of instructions as to his conduct and professional duties, which is said to have filled six sheets of writing paper, but a small portion only has been preserved by Lieutenant Bromwich, and is given in the Appendix, No. 2, to Vol. i. of Clarke and McArthur's Life of Nelson.

[2] Naval Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 163.

leaped into the boat, and by his great expertness in the management of her, got on board, and took possession of the vessel. From this moment he had the entire confidence of his superior officer. Captain Locker was born in 1731, and entered the naval service with Captain Wyndham, a distant relative, in the Kent of 70 guns. Desirous of perfecting himself, he made two or three voyages to the East Indies, and upon the recommencement of the war in 1756, he served as mate, and acting Lieutenant under the celebrated Sir Edward Hawke, by whom he was much noticed. He afterwards served as Lieutenant on board the Experiment, which fought and took the Télémaque, June 10th, 1757, under circumstances most honourable to Lieutenant Locker. With Sir Edward Hawke he again served in the Royal George, and remained with him until 1762, when being raised to the rank of a Commander, he was appointed to the Roman Emperor fire-ship. He was made Post Captain in 1768, and soon after appointed to the Queen, 90 guns. In 1770 he commanded the Thames frigate, and upon the dispute with America the Lowestoffe, in which he remained until 1779, when from ill health, he was obliged to return to England. In this vessel he first met with Nelson. Being in 1792 raised to the rank of Commodore, he hoisted his pendant on board the Sandwich, and in the following year was made Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich Hospital, where he died December 26, 1800, in the 70th year of his age.

With Captain Locker Nelson went to Jamaica, but not finding the duty sufficiently active for his mind, he quitted it, and removed into the Little Lucy, a schooner attached to the Lowestoffe frigate; and he captured the Abigail schooner from François, bound to Nantucket, after a chase of eight hours. He subsequently served in the Bristol, the flag-ship of Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker,[1] to whom he was recommended by

[1] Sir Peter Parker was the son of Rear-Admiral Christopher Parker. He was a Lieutenant on board the Russell in 1743, promoted to be Captain of the Margate, and in 1749 commanded the Lancaster, a third rate. After the commencement of the war with France in 1756, he served in the West Indies, and on his return in 1758, cruized in the Channel, where he took many prizes. He served under Commodore Keppel in covering the siege of Belleisle, and blocking up the French ports in 1761. He was knighted in 1772, and in 1774 appointed to the Barfleur

Captain Locker, and rose from Third Lieutenant to be the First. Promoted to the rank of Commander, he was appointed to the Badger brig, December 8, 1778. The service on which this vessel was ordered, was to protect the Mosquito shore, and the Bay of Honduras, against the depredations of the American privateers. He was equally an object of the admiration and attachment of the settlers, and upon receiving their thanks at his departure, he was solicited, in the event of a war breaking out with Spain, to describe their situation to Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker, and to the Governor of Jamaica, General Sir John Dalling.[1] Whilst engaged in the command of this vessel, the Glasgow, 20 guns, Captain Thomas Lloyd, came into Montego Bay, Jamaica, where the Badger was then lying, and Nelson says, that in two hours afterwards she took fire by a cask of rum, and that by the joint exertions of Captain Lloyd and himself, the whole crew were rescued from destruction.

In a letter to Captain Locker,[2] Nelson gives an account of this disaster in the following words: "I suppose before this you have heard of the fate of the poor Glasgow: indeed it was a most shocking sight; and had it happened half an hour later, in all probability a great many people would have been lost. She anchored at half-past three, and at six she was in flames, owing to the steward attempting to steal rum out of the after-hold. Captain Lloyd is very melancholy indeed on the occasion, and I sincerely wish I was at Port Royal for his sake, and the ship's company's, who are falling sick very

of 90 guns. Obtaining the rank of Commodore on the American station, he hoisted his pendant on board the Bristol. Failing in his attack on Charlestown, he, under the command of Lord Howe, was detached with a small squadron to Rhode Island, in which expedition he was successful, and remained at that port until he attained the rank of Rear-Admiral, when he was ordered to Jamaica, and remained there until 1782, when he returned to England; having successively rose to be Rear-Admiral of the White, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Vice-Admiral of the White, in September, 1780. In 1787 he represented the borough of Malden in Parliament, and in this year was promoted to be Admiral of the Blue, and in 1795, Admiral of the White. He lived to be Admiral of the Fleet, and died at a very advanced age, December 21, 1811.

[1] Sir John Dalling was the Commander-in-chief at Jamaica. He was created a Baronet in 1783, and died in 1798.

[2] Dispatches and Letters of Lord Viscount Nelson, Vol. i. p. 29, from an Autograph in the Locker Papers.

fast, with the constant rains we have had since we left Montego Bay, and no place on board the Badger to shelter such a number of men."

The Marquis of Lansdowne gave to Sir N. H. Nicolas the following particulars relating to this event: "Captain Lloyd, in one of the years between 1780 and 1790, commanded a frigate, which was sent with a large stock of gunpowder to Jamaica. The night after she got into the harbour of Port Royal, one end of the vessel was discovered to be on fire. On the flame bursting out, Captain Lloyd at once perceived that if she blew up with all the gunpowder on board, all the warehouses and magazines, not far from where she lay, would be destroyed. He immediately summoned all hands, and declared, that until every cask of gunpowder was thrown into the sea, not one should leave the vessel; and that he himself would be the last to leave it. The crew, who were much attached to their commander, obeyed his orders to the letter. Every cask was disposed of, and the crew carried off in boats as directed by the Captain, who, embarking in the last, just got clear in time to escape from the total destruction of the vessel. For this service he afterwards received the warmest thanks of a meeting of the merchants and inhabitants. Captain Lloyd retired from his profession to a small estate he had inherited near Carmarthen, where I remember to have visited him on a tour through Wales, whilst I was at College."[1] Captain Lloyd died in 1801. Events like these naturally bind men together very strongly; the remembrance of the dangers they have escaped, and the good they have co-operated to effect, can scarcely be effaced from their memory; they serve to endear them to each other for their lives. Such appears to have been the case in the present instance, for although Captain Lloyd retired from the service, and removed to Wales, I find the following letter addressed to him in 1801, which will prove the warm feelings of attachment which existed between these two brave officers.

[1] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. vii. p. 423.

"St. George, Keoge Bay, near Copenhagen,
"April 24th, 1801.

"My dear Lloyd,

"Although I scolded you for your last letter, about *great Commanders, and such stuff*, yet my heart is always warm to you, and your friendship will be the pleasure of my life, let the world either smile or frown upon me. I know the envy of many, both in the late and present Ministry, are upon me; but whilst my heart tells me I do my business like an honest man, I can smile at their dirty attempts to pull me down. I stand by myself a perfectly free and independent man, and have seen too much of the world to become the tool of any party.

"We are, I suppose, on the road home, for the Emperor of Russia has ORDERED, I can give no other name to his paper, Sir Hyde Parker and the Danes to be quiet, and for us not to enter the Sound, but to stay in the *Cattegat*. However they may settle matters, I am fixed as fate to go to England, and get, if possible, a little rest. The moment peace comes, I shall go to Bronte, and live under the shade of my great chesnut tree. Our good friend Foley is very well. I have been a sad plague to him, for he has again, in our search after the Swedes, taken me on board his ship.

"Hoping, in fourteen days from this date, to take you by the hand, if you are in London, but ever, my dear Lloyd, believe me,

"Your most attached and affectionate friend,

"NELSON and BRONTE.

"Thomas Lloyd, Esq.
Cilywyn,
Near Carmarthen,
S. Wales."

On the 28th of April, 1779, Nelson captured La Prudente, of eighty tons and nine men.

Nelson was succeeded in the command of the Badger by Captain Cuthbert Collingwood, afterwards Admiral Lord Collingwood.[1] They were known to each other from

[1] Frequent mention of this distinguished officer will be found in the subsequent pages. He passed fifty years of his life in the Naval Service of Great Britain, forty-four of which were in active employment abroad, being from 1793 to the year of his death, 1810, only one year in England. For particulars of his life, the reader is referred to a selection of his Public and Private Correspondence

a very early period of their service, maintained great intimacy, and appeared to proceed *pari passu* in their progress in the Navy. "Whenever (says Lord Collingwood)[1] Lord Nelson got a step in rank, I succeeded him, first in the Lowestoffe, then in the Badger, into which ship I was made a Commander in 1779, and afterwards the Hinchinbrook, a 28-gun frigate, which made us both Post Captains." It was on the 11th of June, 1779, that Nelson was made Post Captain, and appointed to the Hinchinbrook.[2] At this time an attack, by an immense force on Jamaica, was expected to be made under the French Admiral, Count d'Estaing. This, however, did not take place. Nelson was entrusted with the command of the batteries of Fort Charles, at Port Royal, the most important post in the whole island. At twenty-one years of age then he had acquired this distinguished rank, and in 1780, he was employed in the Expedition against Fort St. Juan, in the Gulf of Mexico, and had the command of the sea part of it. The plan[3] of this Expedition was formed by General Sir John Dalling. His object was to take Fort San Juan, on the Rio San Juan, which runs from the great American lake Nicaragua into the Atlantic, and thus to obtain possession of the cities of Granada and Leon, by effecting which, the communication of the Spaniards would have been cut off between their northern and southern dominions in America. Nelson's duty was

interspersed with Memoirs by G. L. Newnham Collingwood, 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1837, fifth edition, and to the Naval Chronicle, Vol. xv.

[1] Naval Chronicle, Vol. xxiii. p. 330.

[2] He sailed in the Hinchinbrook (so named after Lord Sandwich's seat, whence the Earl takes his second title of Viscount), from Port Royal, in September 1779, to join the Major and the Penelope, and took four sail, for which he expected to share about £800. sterling.—(Letter to Captain Locker.)

[3] This plan, from the Nelson Papers, is to be found in Clarke and McArthur's Life of Nelson, Vol. i. p. 32. Collingwood says[1] that "the Expedition to the Spanish Main was formed without a sufficient knowledge of the country, and presented difficulties not to be surmounted by human skill or perseverance. It was dangerous to proceed on the river, from the rapidity of the current, and the numerous falls over rocks which intercepted the navigation: the climate too was deadly, and no constitution could resist it effects."

[1] Selection from his Public and Private Correspondence, interspersed with Memoirs of his Life by G. L. N. Collingwood, Vol. i. p. 10, 5th edition. Lond. 1837.

simply to convey the transports and land the troops, leaving the operations to Captain Polson of the 60th regiment, who had the command of the troops, but Nelson was indisposed to confine his labours to so limited an extent. His love of glory and daring exploit manifested itself conspicuously, and Captain (afterwards Colonel) Polson, has borne unequivocal testimony to the skill and energy of Nelson on this occasion, "I want words (he writes in his Official Dispatch[1]) to express the obligations I owe that gentleman; he was the first on every service, whether by day or by night. There was scarcely a gun fired but was pointed by him or Lieutenant Despard,[2] chief engineer, who has exerted himself on every occasion." Nor was General Sir John Dalling less energetic in his praise of Nelson's exertions. He wrote to the Secretary at War, Lord George Germain, and humbly entreated that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to manifest a satisfaction of Captain Nelson's conduct, "Such minds, my Lord (he says), are most devoutly to be wished, for Government's sake." By the climate, and by his great exertions, his health became most seriously deranged, and he was obliged to be removed to the lodging house of Cuba, in his cot. These consequences cannot be matter of surprise, when we recollect that Nelson himself says he "carried troops in boats 100 miles up a river, whilst none but Spaniards, since the time of the buccaneers, had ever ascended that river."[3] And he added, "I boarded, if I may be allowed the expression, an outport of the enemy, situated on an island in the river; I made batteries, and afterwards fought them, and was a principal cause of our success."

In this expedition, Dr. Moseley, Surgeon-General of the Island of Jamaica, and afterwards Physician to Chelsea Hos-

1 Dispatches and Letters, Vol. i. p. 7. Note.

2 This misguided and unfortunate man, who rose to the rank of Colonel of the 79th Regt. became afterwards notorious, and was tried for high treason before Lord Ellenborough, February 7, 1803, having been apprehended with thirty associates at a public house in Lambeth. He was executed on the 21st, together with six of his companions, two of whom were privates in the Guards. Nelson appeared at the trial as witness to his manly bearing and loyal character; but this referred to the period of his life now alluded to, and Nelson had not seen him for twenty years.

3 Autobiographical Sketch.

pital, the author of a celebrated work on Tropical Diseases, and who enjoyed intimacy with Lord Nelson, states, upon the authority of his Lordship, that the fever which proved so destructive to our men, invariably attacked them from about twenty to thirty days after their arrival in the harbour: that in his own ship (the Hinchinbrook) of 200 men, 87 were seized and confined to their beds in one night, that 145 were buried there, and that not more than ten survived the expedition. Nelson's life was saved by Sir Peter Parker appointing him to succeed Captain Bonnovier Glover, the Commander of the Janus, 44 guns, who died March 21. Nelson immediately sailed in the Victor sloop to Jamaica, to take possession of her, and upon his arrival received the kindest attention from Lady Parker, as well as the most skilful medical aid. He was, however, obliged to resign the command, and he returned to England in the Lion, Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis,[1] to whose great care and attention Nelson attributed the saving of his life. During nearly an entire year he resided at Bath for the restoration of his health, and was under the care of the celebrated Dr. Woodward.[2] In August 1781, he was appointed to the Albemarle

[1] Admiral the Hon. Sir William Cornwallis distinguished himself in the action which was fought by Vice-Admiral Byron's squadron, and that under Count d'Estaing, off Granada, July 6, 1779,[1] and in a retreat[2] in June 1795, which was considered as of the most creditable character, and reflecting as much honour on the Commander as a victory, and for which he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. In 1796, however, he was tried by a Court-Martial for having returned to England in the Royal Sovereign, instead of having proceeded to the West Indies with his convoy. The Court adjudicated that misconduct was imputable for not having shifted his flag to another vessel when the Royal Sovereign was disabled. Nelson, with all his partiality for Cornwallis, could not bring himself to think it right that he deserted his command.[3] Cornwallis, however, rose to the rank of Admiral, became Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, and Grand Commander of the Bath. He represented the borough of Eye, in Suffolk, in Parliament in 1768, and afterwards was Member for Portsmouth, and in 1790 was again returned for Eye. He died in 1819.

[2] Nelson was much attached to his physician, who had rendered him essential service. In his letters to his father he frequently desired to be remembered to him, and one to Captain Locker shews the confidence he placed in him. He

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[1] Ekins's Naval Battles of Great Britain, 4to. London, 1828, p. 95.

[2] Ibid. p. 230.

[3] Letter to Collingwood, Dispatches and Letters, Vol. ii. p. 164.

of 28 guns, and was cruelly kept the whole winter in the North Sea, of which treatment he makes complaint in his letters. The Albemarle was a French merchant vessel, captured at the close of the year 1779, purchased into the King's service, and had many imperfections which were remedied by Nelson, who had her mast shortened, and he used to say that the French had taught her to run away, as she was never a good sailer except when going directly before the wind. The readiness and tact of Nelson was manifested whilst in command of this vessel. He conceived it likely that having been a French one, she might easily be mistaken for now belonging to that country if French colours were hoisted, and this having been done whilst sailing in the Spanish Main, and off Porto Cavallo in the Havannah harbour, the ruse succeeded, for a boat of scientific gentlemen, who were engaged in collecting natural curiosities, passing by, Nelson ordered them to be hailed and invited on board. Being addressed in the French language, they did not hesitate to accept the invitation, and upon their arrival, to give also some important information in answer to inquiries made of them as to the force and number of ships in the harbour. Their surprise and consternation upon finding themselves, however, on board an English vessel may readily be conceived, but Nelson soon suppressed their alarm by regaling them, and assuring them that as their pursuits were solely of a scientific and pacific nature, he should permit them to depart, merely giving their parole of honour to be considered as prisoners should his Commander-in-chief refuse to acquiesce in their liberation, which was an event not at all likely to ensue. They were delighted with this noble conduct, offered liberally

writes, "I shall be very happy whenever I am appointed to a ship, for, as you may suppose, I do not sit under the hands of a doctor very easy, although I give myself credit this once for having done every thing and taken every medicine that was ordered, that Dr. Woodward, who is my physician, said he never had a better patient." A creditable anecdote is told of this physician in Clarke and McArthur's Life of Nelson, on the authority of Lady Nelson: "When Nelson expressed his surprise at the smallness of his fees, and wished to increase the remuneration, Dr. Woodward observed, 'Pray, Captain Nelson, allow me to follow what I consider to be my professional duty. Your illness, Sir, has been brought on by serving your King and country, and believe me, I love both too well to be able to receive any more.'"

of the specimens they had collected, which however Nelson would not on any account accept, and they parted with mutual good wishes. One of the individuals forming this party, was of great distinction, being no less than Maximilian Joseph, a Prince of the German Empire, a General of the French army, a Knight of the Grand Order of St. Louis, and second in command at the capture of York Town. His brother was heir-apparent of the Electorate of Bavaria and of the Palatinate. He was travelling under the name of Count de Deux Ponts, and when Nelson was afterwards at St. Omer, the Prince sent to him a very pressing invitation to visit him at Paris, which however Nelson was unable to accept. The Prince succeeded to the Electorate of Bavaria in 1799, and in 1806 became King of Bavaria. He died in 1825.

Nelson arrived at Portsmouth in January, 1782, and in April sailed in company with Captain Thomas Pringle,[1] with a convoy for Newfoundland and Quebec. In the month of July, whilst sailing on a cruize off Boston, he was chased by three French ships of the line, and the Iris frigate, part of Monsieur Vaudreuil's squadron, and in this dilemma he displayed his accustomed coolness and decision, for finding those vessels all superior to him in sailing, he run among the shoals of St. George's bank, where the line-of-battle ships dared not to follow him. The frigate, however, continued the pursuit, and at sunset was little more than gun-shot distant, when Nelson ordered the main top-sail to be laid to the mast, upon which the frigate tacked, and stood to regain her consort.

Whilst in the Albemarle he captured an American fishing schooner, the Harmony, belonging to Cape Cod, on board which was a cargo constituting nearly the whole of the property of the poor fisherman, who had a large family at home anxiously awaiting his return. There being no officer aboard acquainted with Boston Bay and the adjacent shoals, Nelson ordered the master of the schooner, Nathaniel Carver, to act as pilot, whose services proved very useful, and having performed those, his schooner and cargo were generously restored to him, together with a certificate to secure him against being captured by any other vessel. Sir N. Harris Nicolas

[1] He died a Vice-Admiral in 1803.

records that which was said to Carver at this time: "You have rendered me, Sir, a very essential service, and it is not the custom of English seamen to be ungrateful. In the name, therefore, and with the approbation of the officers of this ship, I return your schooner, and with it this certificate of your good conduct. Farewell! and may God bless you."[1] It is highly gratifying to be able to add that this generosity was properly estimated, and that the man came off, at the hazard of his life, some time afterwards to the Albemarle with a present of sheep, poultry, and provisions, a circumstance of great importance at that time, as the scurvy had made its appearance on board the vessel, and the crew had been without a meal of fresh food for more than three months.

From Quebec, in October, he sailed with a convoy to New York, and there joined the fleet under the command of Lord Hood. In a letter to Captain Locker, Nov. 17, 1782, Nelson acquaints him that he was a candidate with Lord Hood for a line-of-battle ship, and he says, "he has honoured me highly by a letter, for wishing to go off this station, to a station of service, and has promised me his friendship." In another letter dated, Off Cape Tiberoon, Feb. 25, 1783, he says, "My situation in Lord Hood's fleet must be in the highest degree flattering to any young man. He treats me as if I was his son, and will, I am convinced, give me anything I can ask of him."

Under this command, he sailed to the West Indies in November, and remained there until the peace with France was concluded in January, 1783. He then returned to England, attending his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence in his visit to the Havannah, and was paid off at Portsmouth, July 3, 1783, and placed on half-pay.

When Lord Hood introduced Nelson to the Duke of Clarence, he told the Prince, that if he wished to ask any questions respecting naval tactics, Captain Nelson could give as much information as any officer in the fleet. As His Royal Highness remained one of Nelson's firmest friends to the end of his life, it is interesting to have on record his description of him at the time now alluded to.

[1] The original MS. is framed and hung up in the house of Isaac Davis, Esq. of Boston.—*Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson*, Vol. i. p. 65.

The Duke of Clarence's account of Nelson, as given by him in a conversation,[1] is too curious not to be detailed: his Royal Highness is reported to have said, "I was then a Midshipman on board the Barfleur, lying in the Narrows off Staten Island, and had the watch on deck, when Captain Nelson, of the Albemarle, came in his barge alongside, who appeared to be the merest boy of a Captain I ever beheld: and his dress was worthy of attention. He had on a full laced uniform; his lank unpowdered hair was tied in a stiff Hessian tail, of an extraordinary length; the old fashioned flaps of his waistcoat added to the general quaintness of his figure, and produced an appearance which particularly attracted my notice; for I had never seen any thing like it before, nor could I imagine who he was, nor what he came about. My doubts were, however, removed, when Lord Hood introduced me to him. There was something irresistibly pleasing in his address and conversation; and an enthusiasm, when speaking on professional subjects, that shewed he was no common being. Nelson after this went with us to the West Indies, and served under Lord Hood's flag during his indefatigable cruize off Cape François. Throughout the whole of the American war, the height of Nelson's ambition was to command a line-of-battle ship: as for prize money, it never entered his thoughts; he had always in view the character of his maternal uncle.[2] I found

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. i. p. 53.

[2] How correctly his Royal Highness appreciated Nelson, is apparent from the following extract from a letter addressed to W. Suckling, Esq., printed in the Athenæum, in which he says, "You have been my best friend, and I trust will continue as long so as I shall prove myself, by my actions, worthy of supplying that place in the service of my country, which my dear uncle (Captain Maurice Suckling) left for me. I feel myself, to my country, his heir; and it shall, I am bold to say, never want the lack of his counsel; I feel he gave it to me as a legacy, and had I been near him when he was removed, he would have said, 'My boy, I leave you to my country. Serve her well, and she'll never desert, but will ultimately reward you.'" Captain Maurice Suckling entered the Navy at an early age, and held the rank of Lieutenant in 1744. He was appointed to the Dreadnought in 1755, and with two other ships engaged in a spirited action off Cape François against seven French ships of war. In 1764, he married the Hon. Mary Walpole, eldest daughter of Horatio, Lord Walpole, and in 1770 was appointed to the command of the Raisonable, and afterwards to the Triumph, in both of which vessels Nelson accompanied his uncle. He was then made Comptroller of the Navy, and chosen Representative in Parliament for Portsmouth. He died in July, 1778.—*Naval Chronicle*, Vol. xiv. p. 265 78, where a portrait of Captain Suckling is given.

him warmly attached to my father, and singularly humane: he had the honour of the King's service, and the independence of the British Navy, particularly at heart; and his mind glowed with this idea as much when he was simply Captain of the Albemarle, and had obtained none of the honours of his country, as when he was afterwards decorated with so much well-earned distinction."

Of his Royal Highness, Nelson wrote to his friend, Captain Locker, "He will be, I am certain, an ornament to our service. He is a *seaman*, which you could hardly suppose. Every other qualification you may expect from him. But he will be a *disciplinarian*, and a strong one; he says he is determined every person shall serve his time before they shall be provided for, as he is obliged to serve his. A vast deal of notice has been taken of him at Jamaica: he has been addressed by the Council, and the House of Assembly were to address him the day after I sailed. He has his *levées* at Spanish Town: they are all highly delighted with him. With the best temper, and great good sense he cannot fail of being pleasing to every one."

Lord Hood carried Nelson to St. James's Palace on the 11th of July, where the King was very attentive to him, and he afterwards took leave of the Duke of Clarence at Windsor prior to his embarkation for the Continent.

In the autumn of 1783, Nelson went to France, accompanied by Captain Macnamara,[1] who was afterwards rendered so unfortunately notorious by a duel with Colonel Montgomery, and for whose death he was tried at the Old Bailey

1 This officer entered the Navy in 1782, and went with Sir Richard Bickerton to the East Indies. Upon his arrival there he was transferred into the Superb, the flag-ship of Sir Edward Hughes, K.B. During the Russian and Spanish armaments he served as Lieutenant in the Excellent, and also in the Victory with Lord Hood, who made him a Commander. He was raised to the rank of Post Captain in 1795, and commanded the Southampton under Commodore Nelson, who sent him to co-operate with the Austrian and Sardinian forces to expel the republicans from the Genoese territories. He particularly distinguished himself in obeying an order given him by Sir John Jervis to bring out a French cruizer detected in working her way into Hières bay, an exploit he effected, to the great admiration of the Commander-in-chief. He afterwards assisted in taking Porto Ferrajo, in evacuating Capreja and Corsica, and in the expédition against Piombino and Castiglione. The Southampton was one of the reporting frigates in the battle off Cape St. Vincent. Captain Macnamara was engaged in many gallant exploits, and was raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral, June 4, 1814.

and acquitted, Lord Nelson being one of the witnesses to his friend's character and disposition. Nelson remained in France until January, 1784, when he came to England, and sojourned for two months at Bath.

During this period Nelson first met with Sir Alexander Ball,[1] whose name so frequently occurs in the succeeding pages. Nelson, whilst in France, wrote a letter to Captain Locker, in which he says, "Two noble Captains are here, Ball and Shepard.[2] You do not know, I believe, either of them; they wear fine epaulettes,[3] for which I think them great coxcombs: they have not visited me, and I shall not, be assured, court their acquaintance." The late Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in the first Essay of the third volume of "The Friend," has given a very interesting notice of Captain Ball, and he says that it was at Nantes, where Ball was staying with his lady, that he first saw Nelson, but that not determining who should be the first to call on the other, no communication between them took place, and a mutual prejudice was excited against each other. It was some years afterwards that their ships were close together, when a violent storm disabled Nelson's vessel off Sardinia, Sunday, May 29th, 1798, which continued until the Tuesday following, when Nelson's ship, the Vanguard, which, according to Captain Berry's account, was a complete wreck, was taken in tow by the Alexander, commanded by Captain Ball. The conduct of Ball on this occasion unquestionably cemented the great

[1] Sir Alexander Ball, who was raised to the dignity of a Baronet in June, 1801, was also a Knight of the Orders of St. John of Jerusalem and of St. Ferdinand and Merit, Governor of Malta, and a Rear-Admiral in the British Navy, dying such at Malta, Oct. 25, 1809. He was a younger brother of an old and respectable family in Gloucestershire. His father, Robert Ball, was Lord of the Manor of Stonehouse, in that County; his mother, the daughter of Marsh Dickerson, Esq. who represented the borough of Brackley, in the County of Northampton, in two Parliaments. Sir Alexander was educated at Northampton, and was sent to France to perfect him in the French language, which proved of great service to him in after life. He told Mr. Coleridge that he entered the Navy at an early age, about 1768, in consequence of the deep impression and vivid images left on his mind by the perusal of Robinson Crusoe.

[2] Captain James Keith Shepard died Vice-Admiral of the Red in 1843.

[3] Epaulettes were not ordered to be worn as a part of naval uniform until June, 1795. It was sufficient that they were of French origin to incur the detestation of Nelson.

friendship which existed between him and Nelson, for when the Vanguard was taken in tow by the Alexander, such was the perilous condition of both ships from the fearful storm, that Nelson apprehended, should Ball's endeavours be continued, that his own ship might also be lost, and considering the case as desperate, he seized the speaking trumpet, and with passionate threats, ordered Ball to let him loose. To this, however, Ball responded by stating he felt confident he could bring him in safe, and added, "I therefore, must not, and, by the help of Almighty God, I will not leave you." He effected this, and upon his arrival in harbour, Nelson embraced him as his deliverer. Their friendship continued for the remainder of their lives in the most intimate manner their public duties would permit.

On the susceptibility of Nelson and Ball to the influxes of good sense and information from whatever quarter they might come, Coleridge says,[1] that both Lord Nelson and Sir Alexander Ball were "equally characterized, though each displayed it in the way best suited to his natural temper: Nelson had with easy hand collected, as it passed by him, whatever could add to his own stores, appropriated what he could assimilate, and levied subsidies of knowledge from all the accidents of social life and familiar intercourse. Even at the social board, and in the height of unrestrained merriment, a casual suggestion, that flashed a new light on his mind, changed the boon companion into the hero and the man of genius; and with the most graceful transition, he would make his company as serious as himself. When the temper of his genius seemed extinguished, it was still surrounded by an inflammable atmosphere of its own, and rekindled at the first approach of light, and not seldom at a distance, which made it seem to flame up self-revived." The same acute observer says,[2] "If it had pleased Providence to preserve Ball's life, and place him on the same course on which Nelson ran his race of glory, there are two points in which Ball would most closely have resembled his illustrious friend; the 1st is, that in his enterprises and engagements he would have thought nothing done, till all had been done that was possible, 'Nil actum reputans, si quid

[1] The Friend, Vol. iii. p. 313. [2] Ibid. p. 319.

suppresset agendum :' The 2nd, that he would have called forth all the talent and virtue that existed within his sphere of influence, and created a band of heroes, a gradation of officers, strong in head and strong in heart, worthy to have been his companions and his successors in fame and public usefulness."

In March, Nelson was appointed to the Boreas, 28 guns, and sailed for the Leeward Islands, having on board Lady Hughes,[1] the wife of the Commander-in-chief[2] on that station. He reached Barbadoes on the 26th of June, and for nine months was entirely engaged in suppressing illegal traffic carried on in those islands. In this service he encountered many difficulties arising from the weakness and indecision of the Commander-in-chief, and the conduct of the Governors and Custom-house officers, but he succeeded in his object, and I shall state this in his own words as it appears in the Autobiographical Sketch before alluded to :—

"This station opened a new scene to the officers of the British Navy. The Americans, when colonists, possessed almost all the trade from America to our West India Islands, and on the return of peace, they forgot, on this occasion, they became foreigners, and, of course, had no right to trade in the British colonies. Our Governors and Custom-house officers pretended, that by the Navigation Act, they had a right to trade; and all the West Indians wished what was so much for their interest.

"Having given Governors, Custom-house officers, and Americans, notice of what I would do, I seized many of their vessels, which brought all parties upon me: and I was persecuted from one island to another, that I could not leave my ship. But conscious rectitude bore me through it; and I was supported, when the business came to be understood, from home, and I proved (and an Act of Parliament has since established it), that a Captain of a man-of-war is in duty bound to support all the maritime laws, by his Admiralty commission alone, without becoming a Custom-house officer."

[1] Lady Hughes generously presented to Nelson a silver tea-caddy ladle, in return for his attentions to her and her attendants, a service that had cost him not less than £200 !

[2] Sir Richard Hughes, Bart., died an Admiral of the Red, January 5th, 1812.

It will be readily seen, that this bold conduct would involve him in a violent conflict with the American interlopers and contractors, and he had indeed occasion for all the fortitude and determination he possessed. But prior to this, which shall be presently more particularly noticed, he was engaged in a dispute with Sir Richard Hughes, Bart., the Admiral on the West India station, in consequence of having ordered a broad pendant, which had been hoisted on board the Latona frigate, Captain Charles Sandys,[1] to be removed. It had been so placed in English Harbour by order of the Resident Commissioner, Moutray, who was a Captain in the Navy twenty-one years senior to Nelson, but then acting as Commissioner, which was considered as equivalent to being upon half-pay. The Commissioner was supported by the Admiral, but Nelson would know of no superior officers besides the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and his seniors in actual service on the post, and he therefore ordered the pendant to be struck; and to shew that he was not influenced by any personal feeling, but actuated solely by a sense of what he considered due to the service, he went immediately and dined with the Commissioner, and then personally communicated to him what he had directed to be done. An account of this was, however, transmitted to the Admiralty by Sir Richard Hughes, and the conduct of Nelson was approved.

But the most serious and vexatious dispute he was concerned in, was occasioned by the trading of the Americans with our islands, taking advantage of the register of their ships, which had been issued whilst they were British subjects. Nelson was determined to regard the Americans as foreigners, and to treat them accordingly. He therefore placed his reliance upon the Navigation Act, which he was resolved to enforce. Sir Richard Hughes said he had no particular orders, nor had the Admiralty sent him any Acts of Parliament upon which he could act. Nelson, on the contrary, considered the Navigation Act to be included in the statutes of the Admiralty with which every Captain was furnished, and conceived, as he said, "that men-of-war were sent abroad for some other purpose than to be made a show of." In this matter, however, he

[1] He was a Post Captain at this period, and rose to the rank of Rear-Admiral. He was superannuated in 1805, and died at the age of 62, in April, 1814.

was also opposed by Major-General Sir Thos. Shirley,[1] the Governor of the Leeward Islands, who took in dudgeon the advice of Nelson, and assured him, that old generals were not in the habit of taking advice from young gentlemen; upon which Nelson, with much promptitude and ingenuity replied, "Sir, I am as old as the Prime Minister of England, and think myself as capable of commanding one of his Majesty's ships, as that Minister is of governing the State."

Whilst the Americans continued colonists of Great Britain, they engrossed nearly the entire trade between their country and the West Indies. No immediate prospect of extensive trade with others presenting itself, the West Indians encouraged the Americans in their views, and this support was not confined to the mercantile part of the community, but extended to the persons holding official situations, and in the habit of receiving considerable emoluments for the easy performance of their duties in connection with the trade. The Governors and Custom-house officers were, indeed, the most formidable supporters of the claims of the Americans to trade with all the West India islands.

Arrived at St. Kitt's, he sent away all the Americans, who though obliged to yield, yet alleged that the King's ships had no power to seize them without having Deputations from the Customs. They were supported by the planters, and with the exception of a single President of one of the islands, John Richardson Herbert, Esq. of Nevis, all the Governors and Presidents were opposed to Nelson's views. The Admiral[2]

[1] This officer was Captain-General of the Leeward Islands, and in 1786 was made a Baronet. He died at Bath in 1800.

[2] Of Sir Richard Hughes, Nelson says, "He is led by the advice of the islanders to admit the Yankees to a trade; at least, to wink at it. He does not give himself that weight that I think an English Admiral ought to do. I, for one, am determined not to suffer the Yankees to come where my ship is; for I am sure, if once the Americans are admitted to any kind of intercourse with these islands, the views of the Loyalists in settling Nova Scotia are entirely done away. They will first become the carriers, and next have possession of our islands, are we ever again embroiled in a French war. The residents of these islands are Americans by connexion and by interest, and are inimical to Great Britain. They are as great rebels as ever were in America, had they the power to shew it." (Letter to Captain Locker, Jan. 15, 1785.) And in another to his brother, May 3, 1785: "They make me so angry, that I have no patience, and our Admiral does not support us. He is an *excellent fiddler*." Also in a letter to Captain Locker,

was in fear to act, and advised Nelson to be guided by the wishes of the President of the Council. This advice was not given in an official form, and was therefore disregarded. Nelson conceived that he had shewn and explained to the Admiral what was the law on the subject; but he now received from him a communication, that he had obtained "good advice on the matter, and that the Americans were not to be prevented egress and regress, if the Governor chose to permit them." Orders to this effect were sent to the Governors and Presidents of the different islands, and Nelson was placed in the very embarrassing position of being obliged either to disobey his orders, or disobey Acts of Parliament. He, however, did not hesitate a moment as to the course he should pursue; he preferred the former, trusted to the uprightness of his intentions, and believed that his country would not allow him to be ruined for protecting her commerce. Sir Richard Hughes had, indeed, thoughts of superseding him, but was averse to such a step; and having mentioned the matter to his Captain, whose opinion on the illegality of the orders agreed with that of the whole squadron, he prudently abandoned such a measure. No court-martial upon him could be held under such circumstances; and the Admiral at length had the manliness to admit that he was in error. Nelson had, in this trying affair, the co-operation of his friend, Cuthbert Collingwood,[1] and his brother Wilfrid. Several vessels were seized (the first in May, 1785), and condemned in the Admiralty Court. Great commotion followed. The planters, the Custom-house people, the Governors, and others, were all opposed to him; subscriptions were opened to support the cause of the Americans, whilst the Admiral stood neutral. Loyal prosecutions were instituted, damages were laid at £4000., and he was obliged to keep to his own ship, where he was preserved from arrest

March 5, 1786: "Sir Richard Hughes you know probably better than myself, and that he is a fiddler; therefore, as his time is taken up tuning that instrument, you will consequently expect the squadron is cursedly out of tune."

1 The attachment through life which existed between Nelson and Collingwood is too well known to need further illustration here: instances of the ardour of their friendship occur in the following pages, and are to be found in the Memoirs of his Life and the Selection from his Public and Private Correspondence, by G. L. N. Collingwood. Lond. 1837. 2 vols. 12mo.

by the ingenuity of his first lieutenant, Mr. James Wallis.[1] In his Memorial to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, bearing date June 29, 1785, after alluding to the seizure he had made of the vessels, he says: "This increased the ferment and irritation amongst the trading part of the

[1] He was appointed Commander of the Rattler by Nelson in 1787, upon the death of Captain Wilfrid Collingwood. He became Post Captain in 1797, and died Captain of Sea Fencibles at Harwich, in 1808. The following extract from a letter written by Nelson to Cuthbert Collingwood is too interesting to be omitted :—

"Boreas, Nevis, May 3rd, 1787.

"My dear Collingwood,

"To be the messenger of bad news is my misfortune; but still it is a tribute which friends owe each other. I have lost my friend, you an affectionate brother. Too great a zeal in serving his country hastened his end. The greatest consolation the survivors can receive, is a thorough knowledge of a life spent with honour to himself, and of service to his country. If the tribute of tears are valuable, my friend had them.

"The esteem he stood in with his Royal Highness (the Duke of Clarence), was great. His letter to me on his death is the strongest testimony of it. I send you an extract of it: 'Collingwood, poor fellow, is no more. I have cried for him, and most sincerely do I condole with you on his loss. In him His Majesty has lost a faithful servant, and the Service a most excellent officer.' A testimony of regard so honourable, is more to be coveted than anything this world could have afforded, and must be a balm to his surviving friends.

"The Rattler has been refitting at English Harbour, and when I arrived there in the middle of April, Wilfrid was a little complaining, but I did not think, at first, anything dangerous was to be apprehended. But in a few days I perceived he was in a rapid decline. Dr. Young told me to send him to sea, as the only chance. He sailed on the Tuesday for Grenada, where I was in hopes, could he have reached Mr. Hume's, some fortunate circumstance might turn out; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. On Friday, the 21st of April, at ten at night, he left this life without a groan or struggle. The ship put into St. Vincent's, where he was interred with all military honours, the Regiment, President, and Council attending him to the grave. I mention this circumstance to shew the respect for his character. It is a credit to the people of St. Vincent's which I did not think they would have deserved. I have directed Wallis not to suffer a thing to be disposed of, but to have everything sealed up the moment he goes on board, and that I will take them on board the Boreas, and carry them home.

"Adieu, my good friend, and be assured I am, with the truest regard,

"Your affectionate friend,

"HORATIO NELSON.

"Mrs. Nelson desires to present her kind compliments and condolence."

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[1] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. i. p. 230, from an autograph in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Newnham Collingwood.

inhabitants against your Memorialist; and the several Masters of the said four vessels have been instigated to procure divers writs for the arrest of your Memorialist, under pretence of their having been assaulted and imprisoned by him, to the amount of £4000. damages, which assault and imprisonment is no more than what your Memorialist has before stated; and, moreover, one of the said Masters never was on board the Boreas, or even seen by your Memorialist."

Nelson was in no way daunted by this opposition; and when one of his officers, in allusion to the restraint to which he was subjected, used the word pity, he fired up and exclaimed, "Pity, did you say? I shall live, Sir, to be envied! and to that point I shall always direct my course." In a letter to his brother from Barbadoes, May 5, 1786, he says: "As to myself, I am well, and notwithstanding all my struggles in this country with bad people, I am perfectly at ease, so far as I am conscious of the rectitude and uprightness of my conduct; and it is my not allowing them to continue inimical to the commerce of Great Britain that has drawn down the displeasure of all the folks upon me. One sends me a challenge; another laws me: but I keep them all off, nor have they been able to do the least thing to injure me." This painful state of things continued during eight weeks, when the trial came on in the Court of Admiralty. Nelson, under protection by the Judge from arrest for the day, pleaded his own cause; and his statements were so clear and explicit, that the four American vessels were condemned. These proceedings were of great importance, and upon receipt of a memorial by Nelson to his Government, he was ordered to be defended against any prosecutions at the expense of the Crown; and the Register Act was afterwards framed upon the suggestions made by him. He did not, however, obtain the reward due to such noble and manly conduct. The Commander-in-chief received thanks from the Treasury for his activity and zeal in promoting the commerce of Great Britain, although he had opposed the conduct of Nelson in this affair. To his uncle he wrote from Nevis, July 5, 1786: "My activity of mind is too much for my puny constitution. I am worn to a skeleton; but I trust that the doctors and asses' milk will set me up again."

Nelson's services were not limited to those which have been now mentioned. He was alive to the extortion and nefarious proceedings of contractors and prize agents, and other persons connected with naval affairs in the West Indies. He resolutely opposed their scandalous practices. His representations to the Comptroller were received in a lukewarm manner, his suggestions were disregarded, the old forms of proceeding were considered sufficient, and he was under the necessity of submitting, when he received information from two Antigua merchants, Messrs. Higgins and Wilkinson, of great frauds having been committed upon the Government in various departments, amounting altogether to upwards of one million sterling. He examined into these charges, and transmitted an account of them home; but the peculators were too powerful for him, and he raised a feeling against him at the Admiralty, which he found it so difficult to subdue, that he was near quitting the service in disgust. The state of his health was also very precarious, often seriously deranged, and he was unwell when he arrived in England, in June; but his ship was not paid off at Sheerness till November, being kept at the Nore during that time as a slop and receiving ship for impressed seamen. He was indignant at such treatment, and kept himself almost entirely on board. Nelson had resolved to wait upon the First Lord of the Admiralty, and resign his commission; but having communicated his intentions to an officer in his confidence, he most judiciously apprized Lord Howe of his design, who anticipated his visit by expressing a desire to see him as soon as he arrived in London, and upon conversing with him on all that had occurred, requested to present him to the King at the first levee. Thus was his resentment allayed, and the services of Nelson retained to his country.

Now on shore, and in immediate communication with the Admiralty, Nelson renewed his attack upon the peculators, and proved all his charges to Mr. Rose,[1] Mr. Pitt,[2] and Sir Charles Middleton.[3] Investigation was instituted—the

[1] Afterwards Rt. Hon. Sir George Rose, G.C.H., Secretary to the Treasury.

[2] First Lord of the Treasury.

[3] Comptroller of the Navy, afterwards an Admiral, made First Lord of the Admiralty, and in 1805 created Lord Barham. He died June 17, 1831.

culprits were detected and punished—Nelson's suggestions were attended to—his recommendations adopted, and an immense saving to Government effected; but the author of all this good was unattended to—no reward, no honours were bestowed upon him for his exertions, or as a repayment for the anxieties and sufferings he had experienced. He always, however, maintained that it was "better to serve an ungrateful country than to give up his own fame."

CHAPTER II.

1787—1794.

With all his devotion to the Navy, and a strict regard to the duties of his profession, embracing a consideration of them in every particular, and an enforcement of the correct performance of that which belonged to every branch of the service, Nelson proved susceptible to the tender passion. At an early period we learn, that when in Quebec, his friend, Mr. Alexander Davison,[1] in 1782, prevented him from forming an imprudent connexion, exercised a friendly violence, and safely lodged him in his boat. At St. Omer, in 1784, he fell in love with the daughter of an English clergyman, and carried his passion so far as to solicit pecuniary assistance from his uncle, Wm. Suckling, Esq., to enable him to marry. His letter on the occasion is curious, and has been printed in the Gentleman's Magazine :—[2]

"January 14th, 1784.

"My dear Uncle,

"There arrives, in general, a time in a man's life (who has friends), that either they place him in life in a situation, that makes his application for anything further totally unnecessary; or give him help in a pecuniary way, if they can afford, and he deserves it.

"The critical moment of my life is now arrived, that either I am to be happy or miserable :—it depends solely on you.

"You may possibly think I am going to ask too much. I have fed myself up with hopes you will not—till this trying moment. There is a lady I have seen, of a good family and connexions, but with a small fortune—£1000. I understand.

[1] Nelson's intimacy with Mr. Davison commenced at Quebec about this time, and their attachment continued through life. He was appointed Prize Agent for the Battle of the Nile, and was otherwise concerned in the affairs of the Admiral, as will be seen by many of the letters subsequently printed.

[2] Vol. xcv. part 1. p. 196.

The whole of my income does not exceed £130. per annum. Now I must come to the point:—will you, if I should marry, allow me yearly £100., until my income is increased to that sum, either by employment, or any other way? A very few years, I hope, would turn something up, if my friends will but exert themselves. If you will not give me the above sum, will you exert yourself with either Lord North or Mr. Jenkinson, to get me a guard-ship, or some employment in a public office where the attendance of the principal is not necessary, and of which they must have such numbers to dispose of. In the India service, I understand (if it remains under the Directors), their marine force is to be under the command of a Captain in the Royal Navy: that is a station I should like.

"You must excuse the freedom with which this letter is dictated; not to have been plain and explicit in my distress would have been cruel to myself. If nothing can be done for me, I know what I have to trust to. Life is not worth preserving without happiness; and I care not where I may linger out a miserable existence. I am prepared to hear your refusal, and have fixed my resolution if that should happen; but in every station, I shall be a well-wisher to you and your family, and pray they or you may never know the pangs which at this instant tear my heart. God bless you; and assure yourself I am

"Your most affectionate and dutiful nephew,

"HORATIO NELSON."

Mr. Suckling is stated, in the Gentleman's Magazine, to have immediately complied with his nephew's request; but as no marriage took place, Nelson was probably rejected by the object of his affections. He liked the society of females, and seems to have been grateful to any who were attentive to him, or could participate with him in his attachment to his country, and in his love of glory. Mrs. Moutray, the wife of the Commissioner at Antigua, appears to have interested him greatly; he depicts in a very striking manner the pleasure he felt in her society, and laments the loss he sustained by her departure from the West Indies. Writing to his friend, Captain Locker, Sept. 24, 1784, he says: "Was

it not for Mrs. Moutray, who is *very very* good to me, I should almost hang myself at this infernal hole. Our Admiral is tolerable, but I do not like him; he bows and scrapes too much for me; his wife has an eternal clack, so that I go near them as little as possible: in short, I detest this country; but as I am embarked upon this station, I shall remain in my ship." Again, to his brother, Feb. 20, 1785: "My dear, sweet friend is going home. I am really an April day: happy on her account, but truly grieved were I only to consider myself. Her equal I never saw in any country, or in any situation. She always talks of you, and hopes, if she comes within your reach, you will not fail visiting her. If my dear Kate[1] goes to Bath next winter, she will be known to her; for my dear friend has promised to make herself known. What an acquisition to any female to be acquainted with: what an example to take pattern from!" On March 16th he continues: "My sweet, amiable friend sails the 20th for England. I took my leave of her with a heavy heart three days ago. What a *treasure* of a woman! God bless her!" And May 3rd, 1785, to the same: "The country appears now intolerable, my dear friend being absent. It is barren indeed; not all the Rosys can give a spark of joy to me. English Harbour I hate the sight of, and Windsor I detest. I went once up the hill to look at the spot where I spent more happy days than in any one spot in the world. Even the trees drooped their heads, and the tamarind tree died:—all was melancholy: the road is covered with thistles; let them grow. I shall never pull one of them up. By this time I hope she is safe in old England. Heaven's choicest blessing go with her."[2]

[1] Nelson's youngest sister, born March 19, 1767. In 1787 she married George Matcham, Esq. of Ashford Lodge, by whom she had several children. She died March 28, 1842.

[2] Mrs. Moutray excited no less gratitude in the breast of Collingwood, to whom, as well as Nelson, she appears to have exercised the greatest kindness. The former made his acknowledgments in the following verse:

To you belongs the wond'rous art
To shed around you pleasure;
New worth to best of things impart,
And make of trifles—treasure.

A letter from this charming lady, at the age of 84, glowing with rich reminis-

At the island of Nevis he became acquainted with a young widow, Mrs. Frances Herbert Nisbet,[1] whose husband, Josiah Nisbet, M.D.[2] died insane eighteen months after his marriage. She was left with one boy named Josiah,[3] of whom mention is made frequently in his letters. In the Life of Nelson, by Clarke and McArthur, mention is made of Mrs. Nisbet having, prior to seeing Nelson, received the following account of him in a letter from a female friend: "We have at last seen the Captain of the Boreas, of whom so much has been said. He came up just before dinner, much heated, and was very silent; yet seemed, according to the old adage, to think the more. He declined drinking any wine; but after dinner, when the President, as usual, gave the following toasts, 'The King,' 'The Queen, and Royal Family,' and 'Lord Hood,' this strange man regularly filled his glass, and observed, that those were always bumper toasts with him; which having

cences of these naval heroes, appears in the Memoirs and Correspondence of Collingwood. She states that she has in her possession, two portraits of Nelson and Collingwood, taken under particular circumstances. Nelson had lost his hair from fever, and its place had been so grotesquely supplied by the art of the perruquier, that Collingwood said one day to him, "I must draw you, Nelson, in that wig;" and he accordingly made a sketch of him, which bears much resemblance to the subsequent prints of the distinguished Commander. But the laugh being over, which this feat of Collingwood had excited, Nelson now retorted by observing that he would draw Collingwood in that queue of his, and in his turn produced an outline drawing, which not unsuccessfully portrayed the features of his friend.[1]

[1] She was the daughter of William Woolward, Esq., Senior Judge of Nevis, and Molly Herbert, sister of J. R. Herbert, Esq. President of the Council of that island. She was born in 1763, and died in 1831.

[2] Dr. Nisbet was a native of Scotland, and had practised at Coventry as an apothecary. He exercised his profession as a physician at Nevis, but had not acquired much wealth.

[3] Nelson attended to his education, and treated him with truly parental kindness. Upon his expressing a desire to enter the Navy, he had his powerful assistance, and was taken under his own immediate protection, being appointed a Midshipman on board the Agamemnon. At Fiorenzo, January 17, 1795, Nelson wrote to his wife: "As for Josiah, I have no doubt but he will be a comfort to both of us: his understanding is excellent, and his disposition really good: he is a seaman every inch of him." Nelson's judgment failed him here, for Josiah afterwards occasioned him much uneasiness. October 14, 1799, he wrote to Rear-Admiral Duckworth: "Perhaps you may be able to make something of Captain Nisbet; he has, by his conduct, almost broke my heart."

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[1] Vol. i. p. 14.

drank, he uniformly passed the bottle, and relapsed into his former taciturnity. It was impossible, during this visit, for any of us to make out his real character; there was such a reserve and sternness in his behaviour, with occasional sallies, though very transient, of a superior mind. Being placed by him, I endeavoured to rouse his attention by shewing him all the civilities in my power; but I drew out little more than 'Yes,' and 'No.' If you, Fanny, had been there, we think you would have made something of him; for you have been in the habit of attending to these odd sort of people."

From a letter addressed to his uncle, William Suckling, Esq. dated November 14, 1785, communicating his passion, and soliciting pecuniary assistance to enable him to support his proper position, he says: "My present attachment is of pretty long standing; but I was determined to be fixed before I broke this matter to any person. The lady is a Mrs. Nisbet, widow of a Dr. Nisbet, who died eighteen months after her marriage, and has left her with a son. From her infancy (for her father and mother died when she was only two years of age) she has been brought up by her mother's brother, Mr. Herbert, President of Nevis, a gentleman whose fortune and character must be well known to all the West India merchants, therefore I shall say nothing upon that head. Her age is twenty-two; and her personal accomplishments you will suppose, *I think*, equal to any person's I ever saw: but, without vanity, her mental accomplishments are superior to most people's of either sex; and we shall come together as two persons most sincerely attached to each other from friendship. Her son is under her guardianship, but totally independent of her. But I must describe Herbert to you, that you may know exactly how I stand; for when we apply for advice, we must tell all circumstances. Herbert is very rich, and very proud,—he has an only daughter, and this niece, who he looks upon in the same light, if not higher. I have lived at his house, when at Nevis, since June last; I am a great favourite of his. I have told him I am as poor as Job; but he tells me he likes me, and I am descended from a good family, which his pride likes; but he also says, 'Nelson, I am proud, and I must live like myself, therefore I cannot do much in my life time: when I die she shall have

£20,000.; and if my daughter dies before me, she shall possess the major part of my property. I intend going to England in 1787, and remaining there my life; therefore, if you two can live happily together till that event takes place, you have my consent.' This is exactly my situation with him; and I know the way to get him to give me most, is not to appear to want it: thus circumstanced, who can I apply to but you? The regard you have ever expressed for me, leads me to hope you will do something. My future happiness, I can give you my honour, is now in your power: if you cannot afford to give me any thing for ever, you will, I am sure, trust to me, that if ever I can afford it, I will return it to some part of your family. I think Herbert will be brought to give me two or three hundred a year during his life; and if you will either *give me*, I will call it—I think you will do it—either one hundred a year, for a few years, or a thousand pounds, how happy you will make a couple, who will pray for you for ever. Don't disappoint me, or my heart will break: trust to my honour to do a good turn for some other person, if it is in my power. I can say no more, but trust implicitly to your goodness, and pray let me know of your generous action by the first packet."[1]

It is sufficient to remark that his uncle acquiesced in his wishes, and in thanking him for his kindness, he observes: "The greatest felicity I can enjoy is to make her happy; for myself I can care but little when she is considered; and I would lay down my life with pleasure at this moment for her future happiness. After what I have written, you will believe my love is founded upon that strong basis which must have the appearance of enjoying happiness with her."[2]

Ardent as his passion thus appears to have been, attention to the duties of his profession delayed his union for some time. In one of his letters to his intended wife, dated May 4, 1786, which he dates from *Barbarous* island, he says, "Had I not seized any Americans, I should now have been with you: but I should have neglected my duty, which I think your regard for me is too great, for you to have wished me to have done. Duty is the great business of a sea officer.

[1] Athenæum for 1834, p. 748.

[2] Ibid. p. 749.

All private considerations must give way to it, however painful it is. But I trust that time will not have lessened me in the opinion of her, whom it shall be the business of my future life to make happy."[1] And on the 21st of August, "As you begin to know something about sailors, have you not often heard, that salt water and absence always wash away love? Now, I am such a heretic as not to believe that faith; for behold, every morning since my arrival, I have had six pails of salt water at daylight poured upon my head, and instead of finding what the seamen say to be true, I perceive the contrary effect; and if it goes on so contrary to the prescription, you must see me before my fixed time. At first I bore absence tolerably, but now it is almost insupportable; and by and by I expect it will be quite so. But patience is a virtue; and I must exercise it upon this occasion, whatever it costs my feelings."[2]

The marriage of Nelson seems to have been forwarded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, who, determining to be at the wedding, offered to give away the bride; and Nelson thus describes his position to Mrs. Nisbet in a letter from Sandy-point, March 6, 1787. "His Royal Highness has been with me all this morning, and has told me, that as things here are changed, if I am not married when we go to Nevis, it is hardly probable he should see me there again; that I had promised him not to be married, unless he was present; that he wished to be there, to shew his esteem for me, and should be much mortified if impediments were thrown in the way. He intends this as a mark of honour to me; as such I wish to receive it. Indeed his Royal Highness's behaviour throughout has been that of a friend, instead of a person so elevated above me. He told me this morning, that since he had been under my command he has been happy; and that I should find him sincere in his friendship."[3]

The marriage took place on the 12th of March, 1787, his Royal Highness attending as proposed.

Nelson returned to England, and arrived at Spithead on the 4th of July, but the Boreas, as already stated, was not paid off at Sheerness until Nov. 30th, and he then retired

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. i. p. 84.
[2] Ibid. p. 86.
[3] Ibid. p. 93.

with his wife to Burnham Thorpe, the place of his birth, and for some time resided in the parsonage-house. He was not again employed until 1793, although he made several applications to get a ship, "aye (he says), even a boat," to serve his country, but in vain; although his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence recommended him to Lord Chatham (who became First Lord of the Admiralty in July, 1788), it failed in effect. This is acknowledged by Nelson in a letter to his Royal Highness, June 24, 1790,[1] in which he says, "My not being appointed to a ship is so very mortifying, that I cannot find words to express what I feel on the occasion; and when I reflect on your Royal Highness's condescension in mentioning me to Lord Chatham, I am the more hurt and surprised. Sure I am, that I have ever been a zealous and faithful servant, and never intentionally have committed any errors; especially as till very lately I have been honoured by the notice of the Admiralty." Nelson fully believed that a prejudice existed against him at the Admiralty, for which, however, he was quite unable to account; and had it not been for the advice and remonstrances of Lord Hood, it is probable he would have retired from the service. On the 30th of January, 1793, his ardent wishes were at length fulfilled. He was commissioned to the AGAMEMNON, a remarkably fine ship of 64 guns, in which he cruised in the Channel with the squadron under Vice-Admiral Hotham, and in June sailed for the Mediterranean under Lord Hood.

During the time Nelson was upon half-pay, and at Burnham Thorpe, where he and Mrs. Nelson resided in accordance with the wish of his father, he is represented[2] as having employed himself "with considerable zeal in cultivating his father's garden, and in learning to farm the adjoining glebe; but the former was his principal station: he would there often spend the greater part of the day, and dig, as it were, for the sake of being wearied. At others, he would renew the early pastime of his childhood, and with a simplicity that was peculiar to him, when his mind was not employed on the great objects of professional duties, would spend the

[1] From autograph draught in the Nelson Papers, Dispatches and Letters, Vol. i. p. 288.

[2] Clarke and McArthur's Life of Lord Nelson, Vol. i. p. 109.

greater part of the day amidst the woods, in taking the eggs of different birds, which, as he obtained, he gave to Mrs. Nelson, who, at his express desire, always attended him. He sometimes also employed his time, when his eyes would admit of it, in reading; and particularly such periodical works of the day as he could procure; but oftener in studying a variety of charts, and in writing, or drawing plans." The uniformity of a village life was occasionally diverted by professional calls to the metropolis; by an annual visit with Mrs. Nelson to Lord Walpole at Wolterton, and by occasional visits to Mr. Coke at Holkham.

The health of Mrs. Nelson was not good, and after her husband's departure for sea, she appears to have gone to Swaffham, to Hilborough,[1] and afterwards to Kentish Town.[2] In a letter to William Suckling, Esq. October 11, 1793, Nelson writes: "I cannot but feel uneasy at the accounts you give me of Mrs. Nelson. I wish she was comfortably fixed in a house, or good lodgings in a place she liked; but I hope, and indeed believe, she will recover herself at Kentish Town, where I am certain every kind attention will be shewn her."[3] The Rev. Edmund Nelson, her father-in-law writes thus affectionately to her on the 13th December, 1793:—

"My dear,

"I am indeed vexed your health is so precarious, and your resolution not equal, I fear, to the trial you meet with. Your own good understanding is a much better source of comfort than any thing that can be offered by me, or any of those who have great respect towards you. My only fear respecting myself is, that anything should be left undone by me, or that you will not, through kindness to me, be explicit enough to give me a hint of. Swaffham, you are not perfectly pleased with. Can you fancy any other place? Spending the winter months with me at Bath, you have sent me no word about it.

"To leave you in an unpleasant or unsettled state I shall regret, though my intention is to leave Burnham early in the

1 A small patrimony belonging to the Nelson family.

2 The residence of Nelson's uncle, William Suckling, Esq.

3 Letter in the Athenæum for 1834, p. 768.

next month, yet to accommodate you in any way, that scheme shall be altered, and if you can put yourself under my protection, a poor substitute, all shall be done that can be. Don't at this time consider the expense—it can, it shall be made easy. Sure I am one dear friend would have it so, and to look no further, why might not the summer be passed away at the Parsonage? Be assured if I omit any thing, it is for want of judgment. Do you like to come here?

"I am, in all situations,

"Yours affectionately,

Horatio Nelson

"Friday 13, December, 1793."

Although Nelson had endeavoured, during the time he was on shore, to amuse and instruct himself, he yet yearned for active service, and the Correspondence, or rather Letters, printed in Sir N. H. Nicolas's Dispatches and Letters of Lord Viscount Nelson, shew that while at Burnham Thorpe, he was constantly writing to be employed, and engaging those who had interest to exert it in his behalf, that he might go to sea. The receipt of his appointment seems to have given him new life, and he writes to Mrs. Nelson from Chatham, March 15, 1793: "We are wanted, Lord Hood writes me word, for immediate service, and hints we are going to cruise, and then to join his fleet at Gibraltar: therefore I am anxious to get to Spithead. I never was in better health; and I hope you intend a new lease of your life." He was in good humour with everything. He writes to his brother: "I have the pleasure of telling you that my ship is, without exception, the finest 64 in the service, and has the character of sailing most remarkably well." In another letter to Mrs. Nelson he says, "The surgeon seems to be a very good sort of man: indeed, I have reason to be satisfied at present with every officer in the ship." And, again to his brother: "I not only like the ship, but think I am well appointed in officers, and we are manned exceedingly well; therefore have no doubt but we shall acquit ourselves well, should the French give us a meeting." To Mrs. Nelson on the 29th of April, he writes:

"We are all well: indeed, nobody can be ill with my ship's company, they are so fine a set. Don't mind what newspapers say about us. God bless you." He, however, became very impatient for the arrival of Lord Hood, and began to complain of his life of inactivity. He grumbles at being detained off the Lizard, and complains to his brother: "What we have been sent out for is best known to the great folks in London: to us it appears only to hum the nation and make tools of us, for where we have been stationed, from ten to twenty leagues to the westward of Guernsey, no enemy was likely to be met with, or where we could protect our own trade. Thus five ships have been sported with. I don't like it, nor does our Admiral." In May, however, he cruised in the Channel with the squadron, and in June sailed for the Mediterranean under Lord Hood. He remained with the fleet until the treaty with the Commissioners from Toulon, into which they were literally starved, was concluded. "Famine (he observed to William Suckling,[1] Esq.) has accomplished what force could not have done; not a boat has got into Toulon since our arrival, and we literally starved them into a surrender."

When Lord Hood arrived in the Mediterranean, and took his station off Toulon, he opened a negotiation with some of the members of the Provisional Government, who agreed to deliver up the town, arsenal, forts, &c. to the British forces in the name of Louis XVII. The forts, upon this proceeding, were immediately manned by 1700 marines and seamen taken from the different ships, and placed under the orders of Captain the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, who was appointed Governor of the fort La Malgue, which commanded the town, and both the outer and inner roads. A French Admiral, St. Julien, had already seized upon some of the forts, and refused to admit the English. The French ships were however ordered to proceed into the inner harbour, and to discharge their powder on pain of being treated as enemies. This was done, and the British fleet anchored in the bay, Rear-Admiral Goodall being named Governor of Toulon, whilst the Spanish Admiral Gravina was made Commandant of the troops.

After the surrender of Toulon, Nelson was ordered to carry

[1] Letter from Naples, September 14, 1793, in the Athenæum for 1834, p. 767.

the dispatches to Oneglia for Mr. Trevor,[1] minister at Turin, and thence to proceed to Naples with dispatches for Sir William Hamilton. He also protected the Sardinian frigate as far as Corsica on her way to Sardinia. Lord Hugh Seymour Conway[2] urged him to press Sir Wm. Hamilton to hasten the Neapolitan troops to Toulon as much as possible, and guard the works surrounding that place, knowing Lord Hood's great anxiety in this matter.[3] Nelson's letter to his wife (began Sept. 7th off Sardinia, and ended on the 11th at Naples) states the number of troops required to have been 10,000. He expresses his astonishment at the surrender of Toulon: "What an event this has been for Lord Hood: such an one as history cannot produce its equal; that the strongest place in Europe, and twenty-two sail of the line, &c. should be given up without firing a shot. It is not to be credited." His pride of the service is constantly manifesting itself in his letters. In the one just referred to he says: "I believe the world is convinced that no conquests of importance can be made without us; and yet, as soon as we have accomplished the service we are ordered on, we are neglected, If Parliament does not grant something to this fleet, our Jacks will grumble; for here there is no prize money to soften their hardships; all we get is honour and salt beef. My poor fellows have not had a morsel of fresh meat or vegetables for near nineteen weeks; and in that time I have only had my foot twice on shore at Cadiz. We are absolutely getting sick from fatigue. No fleet, I am certain, ever served their country with greater zeal than this has done, from the Admiral to the lowest sailor."[4]

Arrived at Naples, Nelson first became acquainted with Sir William Hamilton, the British Minister there, and Sir John Francis Acton, Bart.,[5] an Englishman, Prime Minister. The

[1] Afterwards Viscount Hampden.

[2] Lord Hugh Seymour Conway was Captain of the Leviathan, rose to the rank of Vice-Admiral, and died in September, 1801.

[3] This service obtained him great credit with Lord Hood, for the Admiral received the troops before his requisition reached Naples, and warmly expressed his satisfaction at Nelson's conduct and activity. (See Letter to Wm. Suckling, Esq. off Corsica, Oct. 11, 1793.)

[4] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. i. p. 132.

[5] Sir John Acton, though of English origin, was born, in 1736, at Besançon, in France, and had acquired a reputation for ability in naval affairs, by the manner in which he had conducted an expedition against Algiers. He was in

King and the Court were lavish in their praises of the English—"the saviours of Italy," as they were called. The King paid Nelson the most marked attention, and entrusted to him "the handsomest letter that can be penned, in his

command of the Tuscan fleet, when, at the request of Prince Caramanico (who was in much esteem at the Neapolitan Court) to the Grand Duke Leopold, he was engaged to reorganize the Neapolitan Navy, which at that time was totally inefficient, either for the protection of the coasts, or the commercial interests of Naples. This brought Sir John Acton to Naples, where he was well received at Court, and speedily raised to the dignity of Minister of the Marine. To this event General Pépé attributes the most fatal effects—no less than the utter ruin of Naples. He contends that, as a stranger, he could not feel any real affection for the country, nor was he stimulated by desire of glory to labour for its welfare; on the contrary, he urges that, perceiving the ambitious disposition of the young Queen, he availed himself of it, insinuated himself into her good graces, became her prime favourite, and her confidant in all her schemes of aggrandizement. He not only held the position of Minister of the Marine, but also that of Minister of War; and in his attempts to acquire absolute power, he, by the superiority of his talents, his influence at Court, and other measures, contrived to be master of all proceedings. Pépé says that he obtained the removal from Naples of Prince Caramanico, by whose interest he had been called thither, first on an embassy to London, and afterwards to Paris, and then had him nominated Viceroy of Palermo, regarding him in the light of a rival at Court; and the General does not hesitate to say that the death of the Prince, which occurred shortly after his elevation to the Vice-regal authority, did not take place without exciting suspicion as to the manner in which it had been effected. His power was unquestionably great; for upon the death of the Marquis Caracciolo he became Minister of Foreign Affairs; was also made a General, and having created all the other Ministers, possessed complete power over them, either by ties of gratitude or fear. Acton caused many large vessels to be built, which came afterwards to the aid of England, and under Francisco Caracciolo, in 1795, were placed, with the fleet of Nelson, in the Mediterranean. Acton is accused of having done much mischief by his attempts to strengthen the army, by infusing into it several thousands of the most abject population, deriving them from the prisons, in which they were confined, many for crimes of the most heinous description. He also brought into the country many foreigners to reorganise the army, and gave to them different commands. The ill feeling thus engendered, and the vast expense entailed by the measures adopted, doubtless served to produce much discontent and mischief. The taxes were necessarily increased every year, commerce was embarrassed, and justice was ill administered. Such was the condition of things at Naples when the French Revolution commenced; and the Queen's mind was exasperated to the highest degree by the execution of Louis XVI., and Marie Antoinette, her sister. The warlike preparations made at Naples induced the French Republic to send a fleet of fourteen vessels into the Bay of Naples, under the command of Admiral La Touche, to whose demands, made under so imposing an appearance, the Court of Naples intimated its intention to observe a strict neutrality. This was, however, only in appearance, not in reality; for a league, offensive and defensive, with England was by the Queen, through Acton, entered into, and upon the landing of the Allied

own hand," to Lord Hood, and offered 6000[1] troops to assist in the preservation of Toulon. Here, too, Nelson first saw Lady Hamilton, who afterwards exercised such remarkable influence over him, and which extended to the last moments of his existence. As the principal part of the correspondence from 1798 to that lamented time will form the chief portion of novelty offered by these volumes, and to which the present pages may be considered as preparatory and essential to complete the series of events which distinguished the career of this illustrious hero, it will not be out of place, nor uninteresting, to insert the account (which, however, it must be recollected, was written under the eye of Lady Hamilton), of the manner and the circumstances under which he was introduced to her:—"Sir William, on returning home, after his first interview with Nelson, told Lady Hamilton that he was about to introduce to her a little man, who could not boast of being very handsome, but who would become the greatest man that ever England produced. I know it from the very few words of conversation I have already had with him. I pronounce that he will one day astonish the world. I have never entertained any officer at my house, but I am determined to bring him here; let him be put in the room prepared for Prince Augustus." Nelson is stated to have been equally impressed with Sir William Hamilton's merits: "You are," he said, "a man after my own heart; you do business in my own way; I am now only Captain, but if I live, I will be at the top of the tree."[2] To Mrs. Nelson he thus simply notices Lady H.: "Lady Hamilton has been wonderfully kind and good to Josiah.[3] She is a young woman of amiable manners, and who does honour to the station to which she is raised."

Nelson returned to the Fleet, and on the 9th of October, Lord Hood gave him sealed orders, which were not to be

forces at Toulon, the Neapolitan Government sent its contingent proportion of vessels and troops to be engaged in that enterprise. He married, by a dispensation of the Pope, the eldest daughter of his brother, and died at Palermo, Aug. 12, 1811.

[1] A portion only of those were sent.
Harrison's Life of Nelson, Vol. i. p. 108.

[3] Mrs. Nelson's son by her marriage with Dr. Nisbet.

opened until he arrived off the east end of the island of Porquerol, one of the Hières islands, when he found he was to go to Cagliari, and place himself under the direction of Commodore Linzee,[1] in the Alcide. On his way to Cagliari he fell in with four French frigates, and a brig. They were men-of-war from Tunis, and consisted of the Melpomene, 44 guns, 9 and 18-pounders, 400 men; La Minèrve, 44 guns, 9 and 18-pounders, 400 men; La Fortunée, 44 guns, 12 and 36-pounders, 500 men; Le Fouchet, 24 guns, 9-pounders, 220 men; a brig, 14 guns, 9-pounders, 100 men. A few shots were exchanged; but as the Agamemnon had lost her main topmast, and was otherwise much injured, they could not be got at near enough, and thus pursuit was given up. The French frigate Melpomene was apparently in a sinking state.[2]

Lord Hood entrusted to Nelson the command of a squadron of frigates, off Corsica and the coast of Italy, to protect our own trade, and also that of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and to prevent any vessels from going into the Port of Genoa. He was highly pleased with Lord Hood's conduct, and says, in a letter to Captain Locker, addressed to Greenwich Hospital, of which the Captain had recently been appointed Lieutenant-Governor: "He is certainly the best officer I ever saw. Everything from him is so clear, it is impossible to misunderstand him." Nelson had reason to be delighted with Lord Hood's opinion of his talents; for there were five Captains, his seniors, in the fleet when he was appointed to this command.

The services of Nelson, whilst on the coast of Corsica, were of the most active description. Whether on land, or at sea, in the transport of guns, the erection of batteries, or the taking of fortresses—his exertions always tended to ensure the success of the operations. It was at this time that he first displayed his great qualities as the Commander of a squadron, and certainly no greater example of skill, activity, and bravery, could ever be adduced.

The National Convention of France determined, at all

1 He died an Admiral of the Blue, in September, 1804.

2 See Letter to Maurice Nelson, Esq., Tunis, Nov. 8. 1793. Clarke and McArthur, Vol. i. p. 136.

hazards, to regain possession of Toulon, and in the efforts to accomplish this, Buonaparte greatly distinguished himself. He was at this time only twenty-three years of age, a Captain of artillery, but was soon afterwards raised to the rank of Brigadier-General. The Republican army approached Toulon from the east, west and north. Communication was open only by sea, whence the people received their supplies, and derived all their hopes, which were doomed speedily to vanish. The means possessed by Lord Hood to defend Toulon, were unquestionably inferior to the purpose. He had already sent to Naples for troops to assist in its preservation. Two thousand had been sent, also two ships of the line, and two frigates, and a further supply of 2000 was promised within three weeks. On the 24th September, the Colossus brought a corps of Sardinians from Cagliari.[1]

The defence of the place was, however, impossible. Lord Hood, therefore, held a Council, at which were present his Lordship, Admiral Langara, Rear-Admiral Gravina, Major-General Dundas, Lieutenant-General Valdez, Prince Pignatelli, Admiral Forteguerri, Sir Hyde Parker, Chevalier de Revel, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. At this Council the evacuation of Toulon was determined upon, and measures taken for the security of the fleet, and such of the Royalists as were disposed to seek the protection of the British flag. After several conflicts, in which much British bravery was exhibited, but success hopeless, "on December 13th the approaches of the enemy were still rapidly advancing, his batteries stronger, and more numerous. The number of their troops was supposed to amount to 50,000, ours to about 15,000, of which 4000 were sick in the hospitals.[2] Fort La Malgue was attacked and taken by the Republicans, and the situation of the inhabitants was most desperate. The French ships which, upon the surrender, had been ordered into the inner basin, were now filled with emigrants of all ranks, ages, and sexes, attempting to fly from inevitable destruction; every boat, every shallop, however decayed or forlorn, had its freight of woe; parents separated from their children,

[1] Brenton's Naval History of Great Britain, Vol. i. p. 211.
[2] Ib. p. 219.

husbands from their wives, all property abandoned, the love of life overcame, as usual, every other consideration."[1]

The ships in the inner road were got out of reach of the guns on the west anchorage by Captains Elphinstone, Hallowell, and Mathews, under the pressure of a very severe fire, and to Captain Sir W. Sidney Smith, at his own request, was intrusted the destroying of the arsenal, and the ships of war. In this proceeding, unfortunately, the powder ships, instead of being scuttled, were blown up, and a serious destruction was the consequence.[2]

Taking the number that escaped on board the British fleet at 15,000, Mr. James[3] thinks we may consider that, at, and during a few weeks subsequent to the recapture of Toulon, nearly 6000 of the wretched inhabitants, men, women, and children, perished by the sword, musket, or guillotine, or plunged into the sea, and were drowned, in their endeavours to escape from the demoniac rage of an infuriated soldiery.

Nelson was convinced that it was not possible to hold possession of Toulon without a superior army in the field. The foreign troops were bad defenders of the outposts, and Lord Hood failed in rallying them to exertion. Nelson communicated this to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, with whom he appears to have kept up a frequent correspondence, and in a letter to his Royal Highness gives an affecting account of the events occurring upon the evacuation of the place:—

"That on the 13th a most numerous army covered the hills; that Lord Hood issued a Proclamation to prepare the inhabitants for what would probably happen, the evacuation of Toulon; that on the 17th, at eight o'clock at night, the enemy made a general attack on all our outposts, which lasted the whole night, many of which they carried with too much ease; that the other outposts were obliged to be abandoned, and the troops to retire to Fort La Malgue; that on the 18th,

[1] Brenton's Naval History of Great Britain, Vol. i. p. 221.

[2] The questions considered at the Council at which the evacuation of Toulon was determined upon, and the letter of Sir Sidney Smith, giving an account of the proceedings intrusted to him, were printed in the Naval Chronicle, Vol. ii. pp. 288—295.

[3] Naval History of Great Britain, Vol. i. p. 117.

Lord Hood ordered all the Neapolitans to be embarked together, with as many Royalists as could find ships to carry them; and that our fleet, with that of Spain, were anchored under La Malgue. On the 19th, in the morning, such a scene was displayed as would make the hardest heart feel: the mob had risen, was plundering, and committing every excess: many—numbers cannot be estimated—were drowned in trying to get off; boats upset; and many put a period to their existence. One family, of a wife and five children, are just arrived—the husband shot himself. Indeed, Sir, the recital of their miseries is too afflicting to dwell upon. In this scene of horror, Lord Hood was obliged to order the French fleet of 20 sail of the line, and as many other ships of war, together with the arsenal and powder magazines, to be set on fire: report says one half of that miserable place is in ashes.

"The Neapolitan fleet, and near 100 sail with them, are arrived in Port Especia, twelve leagues from hence. What calamities do civil wars produce; and how much does it behove every person to give their aid in keeping peace at home. It is the poor inhabitants of Toulon that I feel for. The quitting Toulon by us, I am satisfied, is a national benefit, both in money, for our contracts will be found to have been very extravagant, people seemed to act as if fortunes were to be made instantly; and in saving some of our gallant English blood, which, when the muster comes to be taken, will appear to have flowed plentifully. The destruction of the fleet and arsenal, and indeed of the harbour of Toulon, for a number of years, is a great benefit to England. I have only to regret it could not have been done on the first day of our entrance."

The interest felt at Naples at this time regarding Toulon is shewn by the following letter from the Queen to Lady Hamilton:—

"TO LADY HAMILTON.

"January 7, 1794.

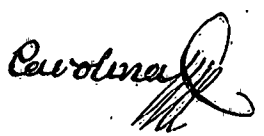
"Having learnt that several English ships have arrived at Leghorn from the Hières Islands, I am very anxious to

know if they have sent any news by the post from Toulon to the Chevalier Hamilton to-day. The interest I feel in all that relates to the expedition being so great, I pray you, my Lady, to satisfy my feelings on so interesting a subject, as well as to pacify the general eagerness, and believe me with much friendship,

"Your devoted,

Charlotte [1]

[1] To all letters written in French, Maria Carolina, Queen of Naples, affixed the signature as above: those in Italian she signs


Carolina

Her Majesty's French is indifferent and spelt incorrectly, so also is her Italian, I have therefore only given translations of her letters, and as literal as the subject will admit, placing any doubtful words as in the original. In this I trust I have consulted the convenience of the reader.

CHAPTER III.

1794.

AFTER the evacuation of Toulon, it became a matter of no little importance to obtain possession of Corsica and the harbour of San Fiorenzo. This determined Lord Hood to enter into a convention with General Paoli,[1] the celebrated leader of the insurgents, who sought the assistance of the English, and Corsica was ceded to Great Britain. The negotiators on this occasion were Lieutenant-Colonel Moore,[2] Major George Frederick Koehler,[3] and Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.,[4] who having previously acted as Commissary Pleni-

1 Pascal de Paoli, born in 1726, was so much admired by his countrymen, that at the early age of twenty-nine he was chosen Generalissimo of Corsica. He remodelled the laws, improved its condition, and laid the foundation of a maritime power. The Genoese failing in their attempts to subjugate the island, transferred the sovereignty of it to the French. An insurrection followed, of which Paoli was the leader; but he endured defeat, and escaped to England, where he was well received by the Prime Minister, the Duke of Grafton, and had a pension given him of £1200. *per annum*. After the French Revolution he was induced to return to Corsica, and resigning his English pension, appeared, together with the Corsican Deputies, before the National Assembly of Paris. On returning to his country he was elected Mayor of Bastia, Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and President of the Department. His anxiety that Corsica should be entirely independent involved him in fresh troubles with France, to relieve himself of which he entered into a convention for an union with England, conveying Corsica to the Crown of Great Britain. He, therefore, returned to England, lost his property by the failure of a mercantile house at Leghorn, lived in privacy, and died in London, Feb. 5, 1807, in the 81st year of his age. He was well known to Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, and James Boswell, the latter of whom has, in his Account of a Tour in Corsica, given many particulars respecting this celebrated man

2 Afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K.B., who gloriously fell at Corunna in 1809.

3 This officer rose to the rank of General; was sent to discipline the Turkish army, and fell a victim to the plague in Syria in 1801.

4 The Right Hon. Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. was born April 23, 1751, appointed Commissary Plenipotentiary to Corsica, and after the cession of that island to Great Britain, made Viceroy, which he held until the evacuation of it in October, 1796. In the following year he was created Baron Minto, and in 1799, was sent

potentiary, was appointed Viceroy of the island; and being specially authorized, accepted of the crown and constitution of Corsica, as unanimously decreed in the general assembly of the Corsican nation, held at Corte, and signed in the assembly by all the members of which it was composed, consisting of upwards of 400 persons.

Whilst this proceeding was pending, Nelson cruized off the island to prevent any supplies reaching the French, and was exceedingly active in annoying the enemy. He landed near St. Fiorenzo, the harbour of which was of great importance to Great Britain as a rendezvous in the Mediterranean for the British squadrons. At this place the French had a warehouse: Nelson destroyed it, threw their flour into the sea, burnt the flour-mill, and re-embarked his men, 120 in number (60 soldiers and 60 seamen), before the French could send a force amounting to 1000 men to oppose him, not having lost a single man. This took place on the 21st of January, 1794. The spirit of the enemy was much depressed by this annoying warfare, and at length (February 17th) St. Fiorenzo was besieged and taken. The extent to which he harassed the enemy may be seen by reference to the Journal he kept, printed under the Letter A. in Sir N. H. Nicolas's "Dispatches and Letters," Vol. i. p. 349, *et seq.* from which the following extracts will suffice:

"January 21st. Landed about four miles from St. Fiorenzo. Burnt the only water-mill in that part of the country, much to the distress of the French.

"February 6th. Landed at Centuri; burnt four polacres loaded with wine for the French ships at St. Fiorenzo.

"February 8th. Landed at Maginaggio; burned eight sail of vessels, took four, and destroyed about 1000 tons of wine.

"February 12th. Attacked a French courier-boat, whose crew got ashore at Capreia; after a very smart contest, in which I lost six men, carried her.

Envoy Extraordinary to Vienna, whence returning to England, he was in 1806, made President of the Board of Control, and in 1807, Governor-General of India, succeeding the Marquis Wellesley. He accompanied the Expedition for reducing the island of Java in 1811, and upon his return to England, was created, February 24, 1813, Viscount Melgund and Earl of Minto. He died June 21, 1814, at the age of 63.

"February 19th. Landed at L'Avasina, took the tower of Miomo, and drove the French within gun-shot of the walls of Bastia.

"February 24th. Ran down the town of Bastia, and cannonaded it for two hours.

"February 26th. Drove the French from a work they were making to the southward of Bastia."

The effects of the Revolution in the confusion and depression of the finances, in the loss of colonies, and the obstructions to commerce, by the activity of the Naval force of Great Britain, were necessarily injurious to the development of any extensive Naval power by France. Their vessels were also ill-equipped, their seamen inexperienced, and Great Britain was almost omnipotent on the waters.

In a letter to General Paoli, and referred to under date of February 8th, written on board the Agamemnon, between Bastia and Cape Corse, Nelson exultingly details an attack made upon Rogliani, where the National colours were hoisted by the Republicans. He destroyed the vessels and wine, and with his own hand struck down the colours which were flying in the town, and also the Tree of Liberty that had been planted there. He most completely carried out the purpose for which he had been commissioned, for he had neither allowed troops nor provisions to enter into, nor frigates to come out of, Corsica. To a similar duty he was appointed off Bastia. He made an excellent Report to Lord Hood of the place and its defences, with suggestions as to the mode and means of taking it, and emphatically observed, "Nothing shall get in, you may be assured." Nelson felt certain of the fall of Bastia, and Lord Hood was anxious for the attempt to be made. Major-General Sir David Dundas, the Commander of the Forces, thought it premature, and considered the siege, with their means and forces, to be "a most visionary and rash attempt, and such as no officer could be justified in undertaking." He desired to wait for the arrival of more troops from Gibraltar. Lord Hood was, however, of a different opinion, and very frankly avowed the same to the General. Nelson was ordered to reconnoitre, and passing a battery of 6 guns, the enemy opened a fire upon the Agamemnon, the Romulus, and the Tartar. They soon, however,

drove the French from the battery, but the cannonading lasted one hour and three-quarters. No loss was sustained, and Nelson declares, in a letter addressed to his wife, after the survey, "If I had carried with me 500 troops, to a certainty I should have stormed the town, and I believe it might have been carried. Armies go so slow, that seamen think they never mean to get forward; but I dare say they act on a surer principle, although we seldom fail." In another place he avows, "If I had force to go again and cannonade it, I believe I should yet get it. My seamen are now what British seamen ought to be, to you I may say it, almost invincible: they really mind shot no more than peas."[1]

Lord Hood determined on taking the responsibility upon himself, nor was he furnished with a single soldier to assist in the enterprise. He was able only to obtain a few artillerymen; relying therefore upon his marines and sailors, he made the attack which proved his judgment to be equal to his skill, and the bravery of his men. Every one was personally interested in the event; the sailors run the guns up the heights, in a manner which Nelson declared none but British seamen could have accomplished. The result was highly satisfactory and honourable. Great privations and difficulties were offered to the attainment of the object: the weather was tempestuous, the vessels suffered from the elements, they were also without firing, water, provisions, or stores, and in want of canvas, ropes, twine and nails; they literally had nothing to eat. His Journal on March 16th, in an express sent off to Lord Hood, has the following entry: "Not a man had slept dry for many months." Lord Hood acceded to a request of Nelson, and sent an Engineer and an artillery officer to assist him in examining Bastia. They agreed with Nelson, who had made the best of his way to St. Fiorenzo, to consult with Lord Hood, and then left with Lieutenant De Butts,[2] the Engineer, and Lieutenant John Duncan, R.A.[3] on March 25th. Nelson wrote to Sir William Hamilton for mortars, shells,

1 Clarke and McArthur's Life of Nelson, Vol. i. p. 155.

2 Afterwards Lieut.-General Sir Augustus De Butts, K.C.H. still living.

3 This officer was promoted to a Captaincy for his exertions on this occasion, and rose to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in 1798. In 1800 he was appointed Deputy Quarter-Master-General to the forces under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and died in 1803.

and artillery stores, from Naples; told him of the state of affairs, of the opposition offered by General Dundas and General D'Aubant, who had succeeded the former, and agreed with his predecessor. Nelson failed not to eulogize Lord Hood: "His zeal (he says), his activity, for the honour and benefit of his King and country are not abated. Upwards of 70, he possesses the mind of 40 years of age. He has not a thought separated from honour and glory. May each opposer of such a character have for their accusers their own minds. I am sure that will be all sufficient." How spirited are his remarks: "When was before the time (he says) that 2000 British troops, as good as ever marched, were not thought equal to attack 800 French troops, allowing them to be in strong works? What would the immortal Wolfe have done? as he did, beat the enemy, if he perished in the attempt. Our Irregulars are surely as good as the enemy's; and in numbers we far exceed them. I truly feel sorrow, but I have hope and confidence that all will end well."

On the 3rd of April landing was made for the siege: the troops and marines under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Villettes,[1] of the 69th Regiment, and the seamen under

1 Lieutenant-General William Anne Villettes was descended from an ancient family in France, distinguished for their exertions in favour of the Huguenots during the civil wars, and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes they withdrew from France and settled in England. He was born at Bern, June 14, 1754, but educated at Bath and St. Andrews. In 1775, he entered as a Cornet in the 10th regiment of Dragoons, and remained in that corps until he had attained the rank of Major. He was afterwards Aide-de-Camp and Secretary to Sir Wm. Pitt, when Commander of the Forces in Ireland. Upon being appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 69th regiment in 1792, he was sent to the Mediterranean, and upon the taking of Bastia was made Governor, which post he resigned to return to England, having been severely attacked with intermittent fever. In 1797-98, he served with the Hon. Sir Charles Stuart in Portugal, and in June of the latter year was promoted to the rank of Major-General. He was afterwards Comptroller of the Household of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, by whom he was very highly esteemed, and in 1799 sent to Corfu, and thence to Malta, where he was second in command, being under General Pigot, whom he succeeded as Commander of the Forces, and continued as such until 1807. He was then raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and appointed Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces at Jamaica, with the rank of a General in that Island. In the course of a military tour of inspection he was attacked with fever, which in three days proved fatal, dying near Port Antonio, on the 13th of July, 1808, at the age of 54. He was buried at Kingston, where a monument is erected to his memory, and another in Westminster Abbey, close to that of his friend, Sir Charles Stuart, in the same chapel as the much admired Nightingale tomb.

Captain Nelson, who was accompanied by Captains Hunt,[1] Serocold,[2] and Bullen.[3] Lord Hood was at anchor near the town. "Our batteries," Nelson writes to his wife, "opened on the 11th, and apparently have done great execution. Time, I hope, indeed have no doubt, will crown our zealous endeavours with success. We are but few, but of the right sort: our General at St. Fiorenzo not giving us one of the five regiments he has there lying idle." Nelson describes his position to William Suckling, Esq. April 6, 1794, thus: "I am everything, yet nothing ostensible, enjoying the confidence of Lord Hood and Colonel Villettes, and the Captains landing with the seamen obeying my orders."[4] On the 11th of April, Lord Hood sent a flag of truce, but the enemy would not receive the summons: "I have hot shot (exclaimed the Commissioner) for your ships, and bayonets for your troops. When two-thirds of our troops are killed, I will then trust to the generosity of the English;" upon which the batteries opened and the siege commenced and continued until May the 19th, when they capitulated; but it was not until the 22nd that possession of Bastia was regularly taken. In his Journal, Nelson thus describes this scene: "On the 22nd of May, our troops at six in the morning marched from their posts, the band playing 'God save the King.' At seven, the French colours were struck upon Camponella, Stafforella, Croix de Capuchin, Monserrato Rock, Fort St. Mary's, and all the other outposts, and the British colours were hoisted under three cheers from every seaman and soldier. The French troops all retired to the town and citadel. May 23rd. This morning the British grenadiers took possession of the town gates and the gate of the citadel; and on the 24th, at

[1] Captain Anthony Hunt was the bearer of Lord Hood's Dispatches on the surrender of Bastia. He entered the Navy as a Midshipman in 1789, was made Commander in 1790, and Post Captain in 1793. In 1797, he took the Princess of Wirtemberg to Cuxhaven, and also conveyed the Marquis Wellesley to India when appointed Governor-General, and died of a fever in May, 1798, soon after his arrival in Bengal.

[2] Captain Serocold was killed at the siege of Calvi, in July, 1794. Acknowledging to Nelson his information relative to this death, Lord Hood said, "I feel struck for the fate of poor Serocold, as the King had not a more gallant and deserving officer in the Navy, and I had a sincere regard for him."

[3] Captain Joseph Bullen is still living, and an Admiral of the White.

[4] Letter in the Athenæum for 1834, p. 768.

daylight, the most glorious sight that an Englishman can experience, and which, I believe, none but an Englishman could bring about, was exhibited—4,500 men laying down their arms to less than 1000 British soldiers who were serving as marines."

Bastia was a fine large town, an acquisition of much importance, as giving the command of the Mediterranean. At the siege of this place Nelson received a sharp cut in the back. The only notice of this injury is to be found in a letter to his wife after the taking of Calvi, when she would feel no anxiety with respect to it. In the Dispatch of Lord Hood announcing the surrender of Bastia, the services of Nelson are, it is generally conceived, and it was particularly felt so by Nelson, not rendered sufficiently conspicuous. More particular notice is bestowed upon Captain Duncan, R.A. who was brought to the siege by Nelson, and at his request. It is impossible to peruse all the letters and extracts from the Journals relating to this protracted siege, carried on under circumstances of peculiar difficulty and distrust, and without the co-operation of the army, which would have materially shortened the period of operations, without feeling that the success attending the attempt was mainly attributable to Nelson's zeal and ability, under the sanction and command of his very experienced Admiral, Lord Hood. The haste in which the Dispatch was written may probably in some measure account for this apparent injustice, for no one could entertain a higher sense of Nelson's skill and bravery than Lord Hood, and it is gratifying to find that it did not interfere with the friendly relations kept up between these two most gallant men, for at Calvi, July 16th, 1794, Nelson writes to William Suckling, Esq., "Lord Hood and myself were never better friends,—*nor, although his letter does,* did he wish to put me where I never was—in the rear."[1]

About this time Lord Howe fought his celebrated battle. The attachment of the Queen of Naples to England, and her admiration of the bravery of British officers, is well illustrated in the following letter addressed by Her Majesty to Lady Hamilton, giving her intelligence of the success of the English fleet:—

[1] Letter in the Athenæum for 1834, p. 768.

"My very dear Lady,

"A letter of the 10th of June announces to us that Lord Howe has completely beaten the French fleet, that he has taken seven vessels, one of which afterwards sunk. Admiral Graves[1] was wounded in the arm; Admirals Pasley[2] and Bowyer[3] have each lost a leg, proving their bravery. May God prosper our brave allies as I desire. My attachment for your nation is very sincere. A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, and believe me your very attached and sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

[1] Admiral Graves was the second son of Rear-Admiral Thomas Graves (who died in 1755): first went to sea under the protection of Commodore Medley, Governor of Newfoundland, and upon the breaking out of the Spanish war, served with his father at the attack on Carthagena. In 1761 he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-chief of Newfoundland, and distinguished himself in the capture of St. John's. He was made Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1779. In 1781 he engaged the French fleet in the Chesapeake. In 1788 he was made Commander-in-chief at Plymouth, and raised to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and in 1790 to that of the White. In 1793 he attained the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Red, and in the following year was made Admiral of the Blue. He was in Lord Howe's action of the 1st of June, commanding the Royal Sovereign, and was wounded in the arm. On the 12th of August he was created an Irish Peer, by the title of Lord Graves, Baron of Gravesend, County Londonderry. He died March 31st, 1814.

[2] Sir Thomas Pasley was descended from an ancient and honourable family in North Britain, and entered the navy as a Midshipman in 1752. He served as Lieutenant in the Biddeford frigate, under Captain, afterwards Admiral, Digby, and was entrusted with the charge of £300,000 in bullion, which he safely deposited in the Bank. Having served with Captain Elliot, he sailed with Captain, afterwards Lord, Hotham. He was made Post Captain in 1771, appointed to the Seahorse, and sent to the West Indies. The protection he afforded our merchants procured for him the thanks of the cities of London and Bristol, and the present of a handsome piece of plate. In the Jupiter, 50 guns, he had a great variety of arduous service. In 1788 he had the chief command in the Medway, and upon the breaking out of the French war in 1793, he joined the Bellerophon, and accompanied Lord Howe's fleet. In 1794 he was made Rear-Admiral of the White, and was in the battle of the 1st of June, in which he lost a leg, and for his services on this occasion was created a Baronet, with a pension of £1000 *per annum*. The mutiny at the Nore in 1798 caused him to be appointed to the command in the Thames and Medway; he was President of the Court Martial appointed to try Richard Parker, the leader of the mutiny, and was afterwards made Port Admiral at Plymouth. On the 14th of February, 1799, he attained the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Red, and died November 29, 1808.

[3] Admiral Bowyer, afterwards Sir George Bowyer, Bart. was of an ancient family, the pedigree of which has been traced to the time of Henry I. He lost a leg in the action of the 1st of June, for which he received a pension of £1000. *per annum*. He died December 6, 1800, having attained the rank of Admiral of the Blue.

Bastia having surrendered to the British, Calvi became the next object of attack, and Nelson was here destined to co-operate with a very distinguished officer, General the Hon. Sir Charles Stuart,[1] a man of a kindred spirit to himself. On the 13th of June he sailed with 1450 men, exclusive of officers, for Mortella Bay, where, on the 15th, General Stuart came on board, and on the 19th the troops were disembarked at Port Agro, three miles and a-half distant from Calvi. On the 20th and 21st the weather was stormy; thunder, lightning, and rain prevailed to such an extent as to prevent communication with the shipping. The distance required to drag up the guns, being not less than a mile and a-half, and up steep mountains, rendered the service one of great labour, and necessarily occupied a considerable time. General Stuart wished for more troops, and they were embarked from Bastia. Lord Hood sent also 50 men under the command of Captain Hallowell[2] and Captain Sero-

1 General Stuart was descended from the Earl of Bute, and was father of the present Lord Stuart de Rothesay. He received the Order of the Bath in 1799, and died in March, 1801.

2 Captain Hallowell, afterwards Sir Benjamin Hallowell Carew, G. C. B., entered the navy at an early age, and was made a Lieutenant in August, 1781. His ship, the Alcide, 74 guns, was engaged in the action off the Chesapeake, soon after which he went with Sir Samuel, afterwards Lord, Hood, to the West Indies, and in the Alfred, 74 guns, was engaged in the action with the Count de Grasse in 1782. He was likewise in the action of Rodney of the 12th of April, of that year, and upon the establishment of peace served in the Leeward Islands, and then with Lord Hood in the Barfleur till he arrived at the rank of Commander in 1791. Proceeding afterwards to the Mediterranean, he was, upon the occupation of Toulon by the Allied forces, appointed Governor of the Fort La Malgue. He served at the siege of Bastia and the reduction of Calvi; then under Vice-Admiral Hotham in 1795, off the Hières Islands. He was also in the Victory as a volunteer (his ship, the Courageux, having been lost on the coast of Barbary) in the battle of Cape St. Vincent, and conveyed duplicates of Sir John Jervis's dispatches to the Admiralty. In the Lively, to which he was speedily appointed, he co-operated with Lieutenant Hardy to cut out La Mutine, a French brig of war in the Bay of Santa Cruz. In the Swiftsure he played no insignificant part at the battle of the Nile. In aiding the Turks and Russians to harass the French army, and at Sicily, and at Naples he performed many useful services. He was afterwards under the orders of Rear-Admiral Duckworth, and assisted in intercepting part of a fleet bound from Cadiz to Lima. He was sent by Lord Keith with a convoy from Aboukir to Malta, and hearing of a squadron of the enemy being out in those seas, he endeavoured to join Sir John Borlase Warren, but unfortunately fell in with the hostile squadron, and by the bad condition of his

cold, (who, poor fellow! fell from a grape-shot passing through his head as he cheered on the men who were dragging up the last gun for one of the batteries), with directions to them to follow Nelson's orders.

On the 12th of July the enemy opened a heavy fire from the town of San Francesco, and a shot struck and scattered the sand of the works then in progress, some of which was thrown into Nelson's right eye, and upon his face. From this he suffered much, and ultimately lost the sight of the eye. This serious affair is thus noticed by him in a letter to Lord Hood, dated, Camp, July 12, 1794: "Reports, we know, get about, and as neither time, or many other circumstances may be mentioned, it is best to say it myself—that I got a little hurt this morning; not much, as you may judge by my writing." Lord Hood knew his character, and how to estimate his devotion to the service. In his reply to this communication his Lordship says: "My dear Nelson,—I am truly sorry to hear you have received a hurt, and hope you tell truth in saying it is not much. I shall send some one in the morning to know how you are, and whether you would not have assistance."

After a very lengthened progress in the erection of batteries, sending of flags of truce, suspension of hostilities, much to the annoyance of Nelson, whose impatient spirit could not brook the regularity of military operations under the General, Calvi surrendered on the 10th of August. The climate was exceedingly unfavourable at this season of the year for such

vessel, was taken by M. de Gantheaume, the French Admiral, who, however, did every thing in his power to make him comfortable. He was on parole at Minorca, and upon being tried by a Court-Martial at Port Mahon for the loss of his vessel, was honourably acquitted. Upon the return of peace he went to the coast of Africa, and afterwards, upon the renewal of the war, was engaged in an expedition against St. Lucia and Tobago, which capitulated July 1st, 1803. He subsequently sailed in company with Nelson in pursuit of the French fleet. In Le Tigre he commanded the naval part of the expedition to take possession of Alexandria in 1807, and was in Lord Collingwood's fleet in the Bay of Rosas. In 1810 he was made a Colonel of Marines, and in the following year a Rear-Admiral. In 1812 he was again in the Mediterranean, where he remained some time after the conclusion of the war. His commission as Vice-Admiral bears the date of August 12, 1809. He died September 2nd, 1834, being at that time an Admiral of the Blue.

an attack; the heat in the months in which they were engaged was intolerable. Nelson says, in a letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, that they had upwards of 1000 sick out of 2000, and that the others were not much better than phantoms. "We have lost (says he) many men from the season, very few from the enemy. I am here the reed amongst the oaks: all the prevailing disorders have attacked me, but I have not strength for them to fasten upon: I bow before the storm, whilst the sturdy oak is laid low. One plan I pursue, never to employ a doctor: Nature does all for me, and Providence protects me. Always happy, if my humble but hearty endeavours can serve my King and country."

Nelson's usual fortune attended him. His great services, if sufficiently appreciated, were not noticed in the terms of eulogy they deserved by the General. The injury to his eye was not even mentioned in the dispatches. As no notice of the injury to his eye had been made in the public list of the wounded at the siege of Calvi, Nelson felt that it was due to himself to call Lord Hood's attention to the subject, and he therefore, in October, transmitted to his Lordship two certificates, one from the physician of the fleet, the other from the surgeon to the forces in the Mediterranean, who truly predicted that he would never regain the sight of his eye. Lord Howe placed these certificates in Lord Chatham's hands, who promised to lay them before the King. My most gallant and esteemed friend, General Anderson, whose bravery and exploits with his much loved commander Sir John Moore are recorded in history, acquaints me, that he was present when Nelson received the injury to his eye. Nelson, he tells me, made so little of it, and it was so little spoken of, that had he not been on Nelson's battery at the time, he should probably have known nothing about it. General Anderson had gone with two other officers of the 51st regiment to see Nelson's battery open, and they, together with Captain Nelson and others on the battery, were observing one which the enemy had erected opposite. They were of one mind that it was a Manton battery, of which they were soon convinced by two well directed shells being thrown up so that one fell on the ramparts where they were standing. They had only time

to throw themselves on their faces when the shell burst in the sand-bags of which the battery was composed; upon rising they were most agreeably surprised to find that they had all escaped, and were congratulating each other, when Nelson said there was something in his eye; they could observe only a little sand, and recommended him to wash it. So little was then thought of the injury which caused the destruction of the organ.

For one day only did Nelson allow this injury to interfere with the active performance of his duties. The following letter was addressed to Nelson by his father, in relation to the loss he had sustained:

"My dear Horatio,

"It is well known that the predestinarian doctrine is amongst the creeds of military men. It may sometimes be useful: yet it must not exclude the confidence Christianity preaches of a particular providence which directs all events. It was an unerring Power, wise and good, which diminished the force of the blow by which your eye was lost; and we thank the hand that spared you—spared you for future good, for example, and instruction, in many subsequent years. There is no fear that flattery can come from me; but I sometimes wipe away the tear of joy at hearing your character in every point of view so well spoken of. The letters received from you give me and your good wife the pleasing intelligence that your health has not suffered from the long fatiguing service you are professionally obliged to go through; and also that success has generally been the issue of your endeavours to make yourself known to the world as a man of probity and judgment; not only looking towards the things that are your own, but to those of others also. Your lot is cast, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord: the very hairs of your head are numbered—a most comfortable doctrine. Upon the whole, I am as strong as can be looked for; how many do I see and hear of, that are either fallen or much more afflicted by age than myself. Bless God, my days are lengthened, I hope, for some good purpose. Accept, my dear good Son,

the usual but most hearty expressions of love and friendship from your affectionate father,

"EDMUND NELSON."[1]

Among the losses sustained during the siege of Calvi was one which much affected Nelson; it was that of Mr. Moutray, Lieutenant of the Victory, son of Mrs. Moutray, to whom allusion has been made[2] as being most highly regarded by Nelson. This young man died from the effects of the climate. Nelson manifested his feelings by the erection of an inscription to his memory in the church of San Fiorenzo. It was found in an autograph in the Nelson Papers:

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY
OF
LIEUTENANT JAMES MOUTRAY, R.N.
WHO, SERVING ON SHORE AT THE SIEGE
OF CALVI,
THERE CAUGHT A FEVER,
OF WHICH HE DIED,
SINCERELY LAMENTED,
ON AUGUST 19TH, 1794,
AGED 21 YEARS.

THIS STONE IS ERECTED BY AN AFFECTIONATE FRIEND, WHO WELL KNEW HIS WORTH AS AN OFFICER, AND HIS ACCOMPLISHED MANNERS AS A GENTLEMAN.

H. N.

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. i. p. 192.

[2] See page 30.

CHAPTER IV.

1794—1797.

After the possession of Calvi, Nelson joined the fleet of Lord Hood, and again proceeded in search of the French fleet which had taken refuge in Gourjean Bay; but on the 18th of September he was ordered to proceed to the Mole of Genoa with dispatches to the Minister there. Upon his arrival he pledged his honour to the Governor that he would not break the neutrality of the port.[1] He found only three English vessels there, and two privateers of the enemy. He was much struck with the magnificence of the place, which exceeded any thing he had before seen. He wrote an account of the city to Mrs. Nelson, and after noticing that the houses and palaces were on the grandest scale, he concludes by observing, "However, I trust we shall soon quit these magnificent scenes, and retire to England, where all that I admire is placed." He paid his respects to the Doge, and was received by him in some sort of state. Mr. Drake, the minister, was not at Genoa at the time of his arrival, and he therefore, as he says, found it absolutely necessary to say something civil, and remarked that he had come to pay his respects to his serenity, and to assure him, that both by duty and inclination, he should pay the strictest attention to the neutrality of Genoa; and should be happy in doing every thing in his power to cement the harmony which subsisted between the two nations. The Doge was much pleased, and civil; saying, that he thanked him for his expressions of

[1] In 1794 the Senate of Genoa had determined upon preserving a strict neutrality, but the victory of Monte Nolte over the Piedmontese and Austrians, April 11, 1796, placed Genoa at the discretion of Buonaparte, who in the following year supported the nation against the aristocracy. On the 6th of June a convention was signed, obliging the Genoese to adopt the name of the Ligurian Republic; this was proclaimed, June 14th, modified, June 26th, 1803, and abolished, Oct. 8th, 1805, by the union of the state of Genoa to France.

friendship, and begged to assure him, that it should be reciprocal on his part; and that from so pleasing a beginning of their renewal of friendship, he had no doubt of its being lasting; that he was always happy to see English men-of-war in Genoa; and whatever he found a difficulty in getting, by making it known to him, he would be happy in removing it; and that the gates were always at his disposal.[1]

Lord Hood and Admiral Hotham arrived at Genoa on the 23rd of September, and on the 27th, Nelson went to sea with them. Important business obliged Lord Hood to go to Leghorn in October, when he directed Nelson to place himself under the command of Admiral Hotham.[2] In the course of this month he writes in his usually affectionate manner to his wife: "Do not repine at my absence; before spring I hope we shall have peace, when we must look out for some little cottage: I assure you I shall return to the plough with redoubled glee;"[3] and rejoices at the destruction of the entire squadron he fell in with the previous year on his way to Cagliari. The attack then made, and the injury done to the Melpomene, obliged the frigates and brig to put into Calvi, instead of proceeding to France as intended, and upon the siege of that place they were taken possession of by the English.

Sent to look after the French fleet, he found them at Toulon, sixteen sail of the line and several frigates. His

1 Dispatches and Letters, Vol. i. p. 490.

2 This officer was Captain of the Gibraltar in 1757, and in the following year took the Danae, a French frigate. During the remainder of the war he was in the Channel, and harassed the enemy by his exertions. Upon the dispute with America, he served as Commodore under Lord Howe with great credit. Sir Peter Parker detached him to cover the expedition against Rhode Island, and he afterwards was recalled to New York to command during Lord Howe's absence. He distinguished himself in an attack on the Tonnant, 84 guns, and in the West Indies in the attack of the island of St. Lucia. He was in two engagements with the Count de Guichen; captured several vessels at St. Eustatia: and was at the relief of Gibraltar. In 1787 he was made Rear-Admiral of the Red; in 1790 Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and in 1793 of the White. He then accompanied Lord Hood into the Mediterranean, was made Vice-Admiral of the Red, and in March, 1795, attacked the French Squadron. It was again attacked in July. At the close of this year he struck his flag, and returned to England, and as a reward for his services was raised to the dignity of a Peer in Ireland, in 1797, by the title of Baron Hotham. In 1799, he was promoted to the rank of Admiral of the White, and in 1805 of the Red. He died May 2nd, 1813.

3 Clarke and McArthur, Vol. i. p. 193.

search gave rise to a report of his vessel being taken, and he eagerly writes to Mrs. Nelson, Nov. 12, 1794, "There has been a most diabolical report here, of Agamemnon's being captured and carried into Toulon, owing to my running into the harbour's mouth. I hope it has not reached England. Never believe anything you may see in the papers about us, and rest assured that Agamemnon is not to be taken easily; no two-decked ship in the world, we flatter ourselves, is able to do it."[1]

At the commencement of 1795, he was again at San Fiorenzo, and in expectation that the fleet would be joined by some Neapolitan ships, though he was not sanguine of the advantages that were likely to accrue from their junction, as he did not look upon the Neapolitans as seamen, and thought them unable to keep the sea beyond a passage. After such incessant labour as he had experienced from the time in which he was first employed to harass the enemy off Corsica, and prevent the arrival of supplies, succeeded by the sieges of Bastia and Calvi, it is not to be wondered at that he should turn his attention to home, and feel a desire of enjoying domestic happiness. His ship had been much cut up and injured, yet she remained his favourite Agamemnon; "the finest ship I ever sailed in, and, were she a 74, nothing should induce me to leave her whilst the war lasted."[2] His love of glory and desire of independence, however, operated powerfully on his mind. To his wife he affectionately writes: "Much as I shall regret being so long parted from you, still we must look beyond the present day, and two or three months may make the difference of every comfort, or otherwise, in our income. I hope we have many happy years to live together; and if we can bring £2,000. round, I am determined to purchase some neat cottage, which we should never have occasion to change."[3] The treatment he had experienced in the neglect of proper reference to his services, and the injury he had sustained was evidently much reflected upon and canvassed by his family, as appears by the letters published in Clarke and McArthur's Life of Nelson. He often remarks upon the loss of his eye, which at this time was exceedingly painful to him, and, indeed,

1 Clarke and McArthur, Vol. i. p. 196. 2 Ibid. p. 198.
3 Ibid. p. 199.

how could it be otherwise, for he was in perpetual activity and writing incessantly. In January, he tells his wife that his eye is grown worse, and is in almost total darkness, and very painful at times, but adds, "Never mind, I can see very well with the other." At the end of this letter he mentions a circumstance too singular and important not to be reported in this place. "I believe I shall inform Lord Hood, what I never told him yet, that after everything was fixed for the attack of Bastia, I had information given me of the enormous number of troops we had to oppose us; but my own honour, and the honour of our country, must have all been sacrificed, had I mentioned what I knew; therefore, you will believe what must have been my feelings during the whole siege, when I had often proposals made to me by men, now rewarded, to write to Lord Hood to raise the siege." Love of country and of glory here overcame all sense of personal danger, and stimulated him to the most extraordinary efforts. It is surprising he did not sink under the effects of climate, physical suffering, and mental anxiety; but he knew well how to estimate the importance of the acquisition he had been the chief means to obtain. In a letter to Wm. Suckling, Esq.,[1] Feb. 7, 1795, he points out the advantages of Corsica to us, arising from its different kinds of produce, as well as its convenience in ports for our fleets. He had inquired into the value of its products, its admirable pines and other woods, its excellent tar, pitch, and hemp, and the fineness of the oil obtained from its large woods of olives. He then enlarges on the improvement of cultivation since the preceding year, when he was there for its reduction, and concludes by observing, "When I reflect that I was the cause of re-attacking Bastia, after our *wise* Generals gave it over, from not knowing the force, fancying it 2000 men; that it was I, who, landing, joined the Corsicans, and with only my ship's party of marines, drove the French under the walls of Bastia; that it was I, who, knowing the force in Bastia to be upwards of 4000 men, as I have now only ventured to tell Lord Hood, landed with only 1200 men, and kept the secret till within this week past;—what I must have felt during the whole siege may be easily conceived.

[1] Letter in the Athenæum for 1834, p. 770.

Yet I am scarcely mentioned. I freely forgive, but cannot forget. This and much more ought to have been mentioned. It is known that for two months, I blockaded Bastia with a squadron; only 50 sacks of flour got into the town. At St. Fiorenzo and Calvi, for two months before, nothing got in, and four French frigates could not get out, and are now ours. Yet my diligence is not mentioned; and others, for keeping succours out of Calvi for a few summer months are handsomely rewarded. *Such things are.* I have got upon a subject near my heart, which is full when I think of the treatment I have received: every man who had any considerable share in the reduction, has got some place or other. I, only I, am without reward. The taking of Corsica, like the taking of St. Juan's, has cost me money. St. Juan's cost near £500.; Corsica has cost me £300., an eye, and a cut across my back; and my money, I find, cannot be repaid me. Nothing but my anxious endeavour to serve my country makes me bear up against it; but I sometimes am ready to give all up."

He cruised about with the fleet, arrived at Leghorn, Feb. 24th, and remained there until the 10th of March, when Admiral Hotham again put to sea, having received intelligence that the French fleet had been seen off the Isle of Marguerite. At this time the French made great efforts to obtain a respectable Naval power, and sent forth the Toulon fleet, consisting of thirteen sail of the line, having for its object the expulsion of the English squadron then in the Gulf of Genoa, by which the French would be enabled to land an expedition in Corsica. The Berwick, 74 guns, was taken by them in the Gulf of St. Florence, and according to the authority of the Hon. Capt. Plunkett,[1] this vessel was taken by the French squadron when alone, having three days previously lost her three lower masts by a piece of neglect, for which the Captain, First and Second Lieutenants, and Master, were tried by a court-martial, and dismissed the ship. The loss of the Berwick, however, was speedily revenged by Lord Hotham, who, commanding the blockading fleet, was at Leghorn as already stated, whence he sailed on the 10th of March. On the 12th the French fleet

[1] Sketches of the last Naval War, translated from the French of Captain E. Jurien de la Gravière, by the Hon. Capt. Plunkett, R N. 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1848, Vol. i. p. 97.

was first espied, and signals given to prepare for battle, the body of the enemy's fleet being only three or four miles distant; but both fleets[1] remained quiet during the night. On the 13th, a signal was given for a general chase. The Agamemnon engaged the Ca Ira (large enough, as Nelson said, to take Agamemnon in her hold), but he manœuvred her in a most masterly way, and the Ca Ira[2] and Le Censeur surrendered to Nelson on the following day. The former was made prison-ship at St. Fiorenzo, and was accidentally burnt, April 11, 1796. The vessels mentioned fought more bravely than any others of the French fleet, and the valour of their seamen has been conjectured to have arisen from an impression entertained by them, that in the event of being taken, no quarter would be given, as they fired red-hot shot, and employed also a combustible material furnished to them by the Convention of Paris, in its nature corresponding to the ancient Greek fire, which, when discharged, could not be quenched by water. The enemy fled to the Isle of Hières, where they disembarked the troops they had, and the English Admiral did not pursue them. Nelson was not at all satisfied with the result, contending that the whole French fleet should have graced their triumph on that occasion; and in a letter to Captain Locker, he designates the action as a "brush with the French fleet, a battle it cannot be called." Two days after the action, a gale of wind drove the Illustrious on shore, and forced our vessels into Porto Especia, after which he returned to St. Fiorenzo, where he remained until the 16th of April.

The Viceroy of Corsica, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. addressed Nelson on the successes of the 13th and 14th March, which had saved Corsica from an invasion, and says, "I certainly consider the business of the 13th of March as a very capital feature in the late successful contest with the French fleet; and the part which the Agamemnon had in it must be felt by every one to be one of the circumstances that gave lustre to this event; and rendered it not only useful, but peculiarly honourable to the British arms. I need not assure you of the pleasure with which I constantly see your name foremost

[1] The British fleet consisted of 15 sail of the line, besides frigates; the French fleet of 13 ships of the line.

[2] The Ca Ira, 80 guns, is reported to have had 1300 men, and Le Censeur, 74 guns, 1000 men. Each of these vessels lost about 400 men.

in every thing that is creditable and serviceable; nor of my sincere regard and affection."[1]

During nearly two months Nelson was with the fleet off Minorca, and on the 1st of June was made a Colonel of Marines, an appointment he was very desirous of receiving, as he considered himself entitled to it by his services, and it also added to his pay. Appointments of this description are now abolished, and good service pensions (twenty in number) substituted. Upon obtaining their flag these advantages ceased. The appointment Nelson received was the Colonelcy of the Chatham Division of Marines, at which time he was seventh on the list of Post Captains.

The appointment of Colonel, and subsequently of General of the Marines, dates back no further than the year 1760. They now cease to exist, having been only as sinecures to reward professional services. Originally, however, it was not intended that these appointments should be sinecures, for Sir John Barrow tells us in his Life of the Earl Howe[2] that they were contemplated as efficient appointments. This appears from the Memorial to the King, in which the Lords of the Admiralty state, that "the marines having been augmented to 130 companies, of 123 private men each, amount in the whole to 18,092 men, with very few officers, they think it necessary, in order to preserve discipline and regularity among so great a body of men, that some officers of rank in the Navy should be appointed to assist therein, who may frequently review them, both afloat and ashore, to see they are kept in constant order for service, and regularly provided with clothing, arms, and accoutrements; likewise to inquire into the conduct and behaviour of the officers, and make their Reports to the Board."

That Lord Hood did not return to the fleet was a matter of general regret. Nelson looked upon him as the best officer, taken altogether, England had to boast of. Lord Howe he considered great in the management of a fleet, but Lord Hood equally great in all situations in which an Admiral could be placed.[3] On the 1st of July the fleet were again in port at

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. i. p. 209. [2] Life of the Earl Howe, page 67.

[3] Lord Viscount Hood was born in December, 1724, and entered as Midshipman into the Royal Navy on board the Romney in 1740; in 1746 was made Lieutenant, and appointed to the Winchelsea frigate, in which, during a severe engagement with a French frigate of superior force, he was wounded. In 1754 he was

St. Fiorenzo, then off Cape Corse, and on the 13th Nelson was in another action with the French fleet, Rear-Admiral Man[1] commanding. Nelson was sent at the beginning of July from St. Fiorenzo with a small squadron to co-operate with the Austrian General De Vins in driving the French from the Riviera of Genoa, and he fell in with the French fleet, consisting of 17 sail of the line, and 6 frigates. They chased him for twenty-four hours without success. Admiral Hotham sailed with 23 sail of the line, and got sight of the enemy on the 13th. A general chase was made, and an action took place. The wind proved adverse, blowing directly into the Gulf of Frejus, where the enemy anchored after dark; little therefore resulted from this conflict, which Nelson characterized as "a miserable action."[2] Towards the end of this month his health began to fail, and he writes to Sir Gilbert Elliot, "in good truth, I am almost worn out. I find my exertions have been beyond my strength. I have a complaint in my breast which will probably bear me down; but please God, if I see this campaign out, if Agamemnon does not go to England, I must; the medical people tell me, 'be on

made Commander, and in 1756 Captain. In 1768 he hoisted a broad pendant as Commodore, and in 1778 was appointed Resident Commissioner of the Dock-yard at Portsmouth. In this year he was also made a Baronet. In 1780 he relinquished his appointment, being made a Rear-Admiral, and hoisted his flag on board the Barfleur, 98 guns. His career in the West Indies was one of great brilliancy, and his nautical talents were amply displayed. He distinguished himself in two actions with the Count de Grasse, and in that of the 12th of April, 1782, for which he was raised to the peerage as Baron Hood. Upon being created Viscount in 1796, the title of Baroness was given to Lady Hood, with remainder to her issue. In 1784 he represented Westminster in Parliament, and in 1786 was made Commander-in-chief at Portsmouth. He attained the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue in 1787, and in the following year was one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty under the Earl of Chatham, then First Lord. Upon the fitting out of armaments against Spain and Russia, in 1790 and 1791, he was again placed upon active service, but these not being required, he in 1792 became Port Admiral at Portsmouth, and retained his seat at the Admiralty Board. In 1793 his services in the Mediterranean were of the first order—in these Nelson performed his full part. His Lordship's state of health now obliged him to withdraw from his command, and in 1794 he retired. Upon the decease of the Marquis of Townshend in 1795, Lord Hood was elected an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, and succeeded Sir Hugh Palliser as Governor of Greenwich Hospital in 1796, retaining that appointment until his death on the 27th January, 1816, at the advanced age of 92 years. He attained the rank of Admiral of the Red in 1805.

[1] This officer died an Admiral of the Red, Sept. 21, 1813.

[2] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. ii. p. 61.

shore for a month or two, without the thoughts of service.'" In a letter to Wm. Suckling, Esq. from Leghorn, July 27th, 1795, he writes: "I was blown in here yesterday morning by a heavy gale of wind from my station off Genoa, at which place I am fixed to co-operate with the Austrian army, with 8 frigates under my command. The orders I have given, by the advice of the ministers of Turin and Genoa, are strong; and I know not how my Admiral will approve of them, for they are, in a great measure, contrary to those he gave me; but the service requires strong and vigorous measures to bring the war to a conclusion. My orders are to take and detain all vessels (to whatever nations they may belong) bound to France. The Genoese begin to quake; Tuscany will do the same; and the Dey of Algiers seems the only power which England fears; but if we are to finish the war with France we must not be disposed to stop at trifles: it has already continued much too long—more by an opposition, and fear of an opposition, at home, than a want of power in England. We have much power here at present to do great things, if we know how to apply it. Hotham must get a new head—no man's heart is better, but that will not do without the other. If my conduct is approved of, in September we shall be at Nice, and perhaps across the Var, for Provence will, I am sure, declare for us the first opportunity." In August, he says, he does not write less than from ten to twenty letters daily, that he is almost blind, and that indeed he has been so ill for several days that he is "alive and that's all." Yet, in this deranged state of body, he was concerting with the old Austrian General a plan to land 5 or 6000 men between St. Remo and Vintimiglia to oppose the enemy. On the 26th he took a National corvette, two small galleys, a large gun-boat, and six or seven other vessels laden with different articles of provision and ammunition at Alassio, having been appointed a Commodore, with a squadron under him on the 11th. On the 29th Nelson sent the two galleys he had taken manned with officers and seamen of the Agamemnon to Oneglia, to take a ship, carrying provisions. They met with three large Turkish vessels on their way, boarded them, but were defeated with much loss. This affair was conducted by Lieutenants Andrews and Spicer.

[1] In the Athenæum for 1834, p. 785.

The slow manner in which warlike measures proceeded, was ill suited to Nelson's temperament. and he describes it to his wife as "slow beyond description." As by a Convention entered into at Vienna, May 4, 1795, England engaged to raise £4,600,000 on account of the Emperor of Austria, upon condition that he should employ in his different armies in the campaign of the year at least 200,000 effective men, Nelson suspected that his Imperial Majesty was desirous of having another four millions of English money; and as to German Generals, he says, "war is their trade, and peace is ruin to them; therefore we cannot expect that they should have any wish to finish the war. I have just made some propositions to the Austrian General to spur him on, which, I believe, he would have been full as well pleased had I omitted; in short, I can hardly believe he means to go any farther this winter. I am now under sail, on my way to Genoa, to consult with our minister on the inactivity of the Austrians; and he must take some steps to urge these people forward."[1] His observation during this lengthened period of service led him to conclude on the futility of Continental Alliances. In an interesting letter to Wm. Suckling, Esq., dated Oct. 27, 1795,[2] it is said: "The campaign of our Allies, the Austrians and Piedmontese, is, I suppose, almost over, not that I am in the secret when it commenced. My situation with this army has convinced me, by ocular demonstration, of the futility of Continental Alliances. The conduct of the Court of Vienna, whatever may be said by the House of Commons to the contrary, is nothing but deception: I am certain if it appears to that Court to be their interest to make peace with France, it will instantly be done. What is Austria better than Prussia, or *vice versâ?*—in one respect, Prussia perhaps may be better than Austria: the moment he got our money he finished the farce. Austria, I fear, may induce us to give her more, for to a certainty she will not carry on another campaign without more money; but it appears to me that the continuance or cessation of the war depends entirely on the French nation themselves: it will now be seen whether they are willing to receive and join the Count d'Artois and have Royalty; or if they oppose him, that they are determined

[1] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. ii. p. 82.

[2] In the Athenæum for 1834, p. 786.

to be a Republic. If the first, at this moment of writing all must be nearly finished: if they destroy the emigrants landed at Charente, it is clear the French nation wish to be a Republic; and the best thing we can do, is to make the best and quickest peace we can: the landing the emigrants is our last trial; and if that fail, we have done our utmost to place Louis upon the throne. To me, I own, all Frenchmen are alike: I despise them all. They are (even those who are fed by us) false and treacherous: even Louis XVIII. receives our money and will not follow our advice, and keep up the dignity of the King of France at Verona."

About this time he received an offer of a seat in Parliament, to which he made the following reply from the Agamemnon, Vados Bay, Nov. 6, 1795:[1] "I have just received your letter of Sept. 29th, and wish to be open and sincere in my declaration, that I will not attempt to come into Parliament but in support of the real Whig interest—I mean, the Portland interest; and I must know that those principles are truly acceptable to that party who you conceive would give me its support. My pretensions are only a long series of services performed for my country; and if that part of my country who may honour me with their confidence in Parliament, think me an eligible person to serve them in the House of Commons, the same zeal shall manifest itself there as it has done so repeatedly in their service in action against the French. I have only to say, that I have been more than 100 times actually engaged in battle, at sea, and on shore, against the French, since the commencement of this war, and that I have been twice wounded. If those gentlemen are satisfied, the Duke of Portland must be applied to, through Lord Walpole and Lady Walpole; for although I have so often seen the French shot, yet truly, I have seen little of their money. I can have no doubt of Lord Hood's good wishes to serve me, and I will write to him on the subject; nor will Admiral Cornwallis, I am confident, withhold his assistance. Lord Conway is my friend and acquaintance, and a more honourable man, I am confident, does not grace the navy of England; therefore, if I am joined with him, the same Admiralty interest will support us both. If it is necessary that I should be in England, the Duke of Portland must

[1] In the Athenæum for 1834, p. 786.

make application for the *Agamemnon* to be ordered home; but I should hope that, being now actually in the most active service in the Mediterranean, it will not be necessary (for I do not much like a land voyage); therefore, if it is necessary I should hope *Agamemnon* will be ordered home. Thus, my dear Sir, I have been plain, and cannot well be misunderstood."

On the 1st of November, Admiral Hotham struck his flag and was succeeded in the command by Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker,[1] Bart. to whom Nelson made a report of the state of the ships in Toulon on the 20th of that month.

No officer was ever more firm in purpose, nor more sincere and honourable in exertion than Nelson. It may easily be conceived, therefore, that when a charge was brought against British officers of conniving with the enemy to admit coasting vessels to land their cargoes for the supply of the French army on the Riviera of Genoa,[2] that it would be immediately met by him in the most manly and straightforward manner. This we find to be the case when the King of Sardinia had been induced to give credence to such a report communicated to Nelson by Mr. Drake, the Minister at Genoa. Nelson instantly addressed Lord Grenville, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on this subject, and indignantly denied the truth of the accusation, demanding that the libeller or libellers should be forced to avow themselves, and be called upon to substantiate their charges. "I do (says Nelson, in his address to Lord Grenville), in behalf of myself and much injured brethren, demand, that the person, whoever he may be, that wrote, or gave that paper to your Lordship, do fully and expressly bring home his charge; which, as he states that this agreement is made by numbers of people on both sides, there can be no difficulty in doing. We dare him, my Lord, to the proof. If he cannot, I do most humbly

1 Sir Hyde Parker, Bart. entered the Navy under the eye, as it were, of his father (who was supposed to have perished at sea in 1783), in 1757, and was present at the reduction of Manilla. He was made Post Captain in 1763, and distinguished himself during the American war. In 1779, he received the honour of Knighthood, and in 1783 succeeded to the Baronetcy. He was made Captain of the Fleet in the Mediterranean, in 1793, under Lord Hood, and promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral; became full Admiral in 1799, and was second in command in the Channel Fleet. In the Baltic, in 1801, he was Commander-in-chief, and in this year retired from active service. He died March 16th, 1807.

2 The Eastern and Western Riviera comprehended the Genoese territory between the Apennines and the sea.

implore, that His Majesty will be most graciously pleased to direct his Attorney-General to prosecute this infamous libeller in his Courts of Law; and I likewise feel, that, without impropriety, I may, on behalf of my brother officers, demand the support of his Majesty's Ministers; for as, if true, no punishment can be too great for the traitors; so, if false, none can be too heavy for the villain, who has dared to allow his pen to write such a paper."[1] He then gives the names of the Captains who together with himself become the subjects of this traitorous accusation. They consist of the following officers, all of whom have so honourably distinguished themselves in the service of their king and country: Captains Fremantle, Hope, Cockburn, Hon. Charles Elphinstone, Shields, Middleton, Plampin, Brisbane, Thomas Elphinstone, Macnamara; and ends by expressing his willingness to take all the responsibility upon himself as head of this body of valiant men. He finally appeals to Lord Grenville in the following words: "For myself, from my earliest youth I have been in the naval service; and in two wars have been in more than 140 skirmishes and battles, at sea, and on shore; have lost an eye, and otherwise blood, in fighting the enemies of my king and country; and, God knows, instead of riches, my little fortune has been diminished in the service; but I shall not trouble your Lordship further at present, than just to say—that at the close of this campaign, where I have had the pleasure to receive the approbation of the Generals of the Allied Powers; of his Excellency, Mr. Drake, who has always been on the spot; of Mr. Trevor, who has been at a distance; when I expected and hoped, from the representation of his Majesty's Ministers, that his Majesty would have most graciously condescended to have favourably noticed my earnest desire to serve him, and when, instead of all my fancied approbation, to receive an accusation of a most traitorous nature—it has almost been too much for me to bear. Conscious innocence, I hope, will support me." The scandalous accusation which thus raised Nelson's ire, it is hardly necessary to say, was without foundation. It had originated through representations made by the Austrian officers to their Court of the means furnished to the enemy's army, and their ignorance of naval affairs.

[1] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. ii. p. 104.

Towards the close of 1795, Sir John Jervis,[1] afterwards the Earl of St. Vincent, arrived at St. Fiorenzo, to take the command of the fleet, and Nelson went to Leghorn to refit. The Government acted with judgment in appointing Sir J. Jervis to the naval command in the Mediterranean, the most extensive, and incurring greater responsibility than any other station. Nelson's mind was uneasy at the defeat of the Austrians by the French, and the charges of inefficient co-operation on the part of the British squadron. He lamented that the Admiral should have left him with little or no support, the Agamemnon remaining alone, and proved that he did much more than could have been expected under such circumstances, and was the means of affording safety to 8 or 10,000 Austrians, including General De Vins, the commander.

To give some idea of the service he had gone through in his ship, it is only necessary to remark that when she came into dock to be refitted "there was not a mast, yard, sail, nor any part of the rigging, but was obliged to be repaired, owing to the shot she had received. Her hull had long been secured by cables sewed round."[2]

After the refitting of the Agamemnon, Nelson commenced the year 1796 with seriously thinking upon the probable intentions of the enemy. He felt convinced that if they meant to carry on the war they must penetrate into Italy. Their preparations, to his mind, were favourable to this project, and he awaited anxiously the result. On the 19th of January he had his first interview with Admiral Sir John Jervis, who immediately offered to him the St. George, of 90 guns, or the Zealous of 74; but he declined them both with great respect. He was attached to his ship and to his crew. He was much pleased with the Admiral and the regard paid to his opinions. Sir John Jervis knew how to estimate those, and having come out but imperfectly informed upon many particulars he felt the information obtained from such a source to be of the

[1] Sir John Jervis, afterwards Earl of St. Vincent, one of the brightest ornaments of the British navy, has found an adequate biographer in Mr. J. S. Tucker, to whose work, "Life of Earl St. Vincent," 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1843, the reader is referred for the varied particulars of his career. Also to Lieutenant Marshall's Naval Biography, Vol. i. p. 12. He was born January 9, 1734, and died Admiral of the Fleet, March 13, 1823.

[2] Clarke and McArthur.

highest value. That this was the case was fully manifested by an inquiry which could not have failed of being most gratifying to Nelson, namely, that in the event of obtaining his Flag, whether he would consent to serve under him? Sir John Jervis sent him to examine into the state of the ships at Toulon, where he was joined by the Admiral on the 23rd of February, who shewed his reliance upon Nelson by entrusting him to act *without orders*. He felt that in being thus treated he was considered rather as an associate than a subordinate officer. The vigour of Sir John Jervis in all measures appertaining to the Naval service was well adapted to Nelson's taste and disposition, and was warmly felt by him, when contrasted with the quiet tactics of the old system. M. de Gravière, an excellent observer, and a competent judge in naval matters, attributes the success of the English over the French, to our crews being better trained, and our squadrons better-disciplined than theirs, and he states this superiority to have been the fruit of some years' cruising, and especially the work of Jervis and Nelson.[1] Sir J. Jervis's system was that of implicit obedience—this was his method of establishing order and discipline. By this system and an attention to the most effective organization, as Gravière remarks, although not rash himself, he yet led the way for the most daring deeds. "Nelson rushed into the arena, and with the rapidity of lightning shewed the latent results of the change effected."[2] Captain Brenton says, Earl St. Vincent and Lord Nelson by the union of science with practical skill, brought the navy to the rank it now holds.[3]

Nelson now proceeded to the Gulf of Genoa, where he had the command of a small squadron, and suffered seriously by a very severe gale. He found Genoa full of corn for the French. He strongly urged the necessity of getting possession of Vado Bay, as a measure absolutely necessary for the safety of Italy and also that of Fort Especia, as that would instantly give to the French the flat country as far as Leghorn, which place might easily be taken. Mr. Drake, the minister, agreed with him in opinion, and he communicated the same to the naval Commander-in-chief. In April he again conferred

1 Plunkett's Last Naval War, Vol. ii. p. 293.
2 Ibid. Vol. i. p. 176.
3 Naval History of Great Britain, Vol. i. p. 302.

with Sir John Jervis at St. Fiorenzo, and was directed by him to wear a broad pendant.

The French succeeded in getting their convoy into Vado which much annoyed Nelson, and he proposed to Sir John Jervis to pursue 2 frigates and 16 transports, and to take them by boats. He offered himself for this service, and suggested that 10 barges should attack each frigate, and that one boat should be specially appointed with a most confidential officer to cut the cable of each frigate. In making this proposition to Sir John Jervis, he says, "I grieve when the French have any good fortune at sea."

Off Loano he boarded four vessels, and brought them off, Lieutenant (afterwards Rear-Admiral) Noble,[1] of the Agamemnon, receiving a severe gun-shot wound in the throat. Nelson was, however, much disheartened at the progress of the war, and on his way to Leghorn, wrote, May 16th, 1796, to Sir Gilbert Elliot:—"I very much believe that England, who commenced the war with all Europe for her allies, will finish it by having nearly all Europe for her enemies." Off Oneglia, on the 31st of May, he took two more vessels and five transports. This capture completed a list of not less than fifty vessels of different kinds, taken from the 1st of June, 1794, to the 1st of June, 1796, as appears in the autograph in the Nelson Papers. Well may he therefore say in a letter to his wife, August 2nd, 1796, "Had all my actions, my dearest Fanny, been gazetted, not one fortnight would have passed during the whole war without a letter from me: one day or other I will have a long gazette to myself; I feel that such an opportunity will be given me. I cannot, if I am in the field for glory, be kept out of sight. Probably my services may be forgotten by the great by the time I get home; but my mind will not forget, nor cease to

1 The father of this distinguished officer, after sacrificing considerable property in the royal cause, was killed by a party of American rebels, when proceeding to New York on public service. Noble entered the navy in 1788, and conducted himself most gallantly in the actions between the British and French fleets in 1795. He was Flag-Lieutenant to Nelson, and was present with him at many severe encounters. He was frequently wounded. In Nelson's memorable exertions on the 14th of February, 1797, Noble bore a conspicuous part, and after the battle was raised to the rank of Commander. He became a Post-Captain in 1802, and attained the rank of Rear-Admiral, August 17th, 1840, and Vice-Admiral of the White, November 9th, 1846, in which rank he now stands on the Navy List.

feel, a degree of consolation and of applause superior to undeserved rewards. Wherever there is any thing to be done, there Providence is sure to direct my steps. Credit must be given me in spite of envy. Even the French respect me."

On the 11th of June he quitted the Agamemnon, and hoisted his broad pendant on board the Captain, 74 guns. The Agamemnon being the worst conditioned vessel in the fleet was sent home with a convoy. In July, Sir John Jervis ordered Nelson to blockade the port of Leghorn. In acknowledging this command he writes the Admiral, that he "shall not fail to sow as much inveteracy against the French as is possible." In this month also (July 10th), he co-operated with Major Duncan, and took possession of Porto Ferrajo, agreeably to the instructions of the Viceroy of Corsica. From a memorandum in the Nelson Papers, it appears that Nelson was directed to return the thanks of the Commander-in-chief to all the officers and men employed on this service, for the manner in which they performed their duty.

During the time he maintained the blockade of the Port of Leghorn, he shewed great forbearance and humanity towards the Livornese. Whilst the French occupied Leghorn, he was unwilling to notice the frequent firing from the batteries on his Britannic Majesty's ships, for fear of chastisement or injury to the poor inhabitants; but when great numbers of the enemy had departed, he wrote to his Excellency the Governor of Leghorn, Signor Jacques de Lavalette, a very laconic epistle, in which he warns him of the repetition of such conduct, and threatens, in the event of its continuance, a punishment not to be forgotten, "but which will be attributable to his Excellency, and not his Excellency's most obedient servant, HORATIO NELSON."

In the month of September, no less discretion and forbearance did he manifest at Genoa, than he had shewn at Leghorn. The batteries, erected by the French at Genoa, had for a long time been a source of great annoyance; yet fearful of injuring the Genoese, and feeling acutely for their situation, and their timidity, the distressing position in which they were placed between two powerful belligerent parties, he had not returned the fire. He repeatedly protested to the Secretary, to the Consul, to the Doge himself, but all in vain. Oxen brought for His Majesty's ships had been even refused

embarkation; still no redress was to be obtained; and he suggested to Sir John Jervis, and with the approbation of Sir Gilbert Elliot, that the taking and securing Genoese ships should be adopted as a pledge for the safety of the English property at Genoa, and as a measure of reprisal for the conduct of the Government.

On the 14th of September he arrived at Bastia; and having received on board the Captain and the Gorgon the troops ordered for the attack of the island of Capraja, under the command of Major Logan, on the 18th that place was taken possession of. The capture of this island was directed by the Viceroy of Corsica, and intended to be held until the Government of Genoa should give satisfaction for the injuries Nelson had so loudly complained of without obtaining redress, and as a security against the repetition of them. On the 25th he returned to the Leghorn roads, whence he again proceeded to Bastia, being employed in the evacuation of Corsica, a measure resulting from the defensive alliance with Spain, entered into by our Government. The orders for carrying this measure into effect were on the 21st of October countermanded; but the dispatch arrived too late—the evacuation had been effected. A difference of opinion, with respect to this proceeding, has been held; but Sir John Jervis, who is certainly entitled to the credit of political as well as naval knowledge, in a letter to Earl Spencer, on the 11th of November, remarks:—"I consider it a great blessing that the evacuation of Corsica had taken place before I had received the orders to maintain the Viceroy in the sovereignty of it, which could not have been effected for any length of time, as the moment the enemy had landed in force, every man in the interior of the island would have taken part with him, and there was not a tenable part in it."[1]

In November, Nelson addressed the Genoese Government, and demanded restitution of the British shipping and property, sequestered in the port of Genoa, and satisfaction for various other aggressions. The Genoese Government had roused Nelson's indignation by charging him with a breach of his word of honour.[2] In his letter to the British Consul

[1] Tucker's Memoirs of the Earl St. Vincent, Vol. i. p. 240.

[2] Referring to this subject I have the following letter and document:—

"The undermentioned Secretary of State has made known to the Most Serene

Nelson indignantly reverts to the accusation, saying, "You must know, from your own acquaintance with me, that I am

Government the two letters sent to him by the English Consul, one from Commodore Nelson of the 9th of this month, and the other from Admiral Sir John Jervis of the 25th of September last; and the Most Serene Government is determined to answer His Britannic Majesty's Consul respecting the said letters, with the annexed two copies, which the Secretary has the pleasure to transmit, persuaded that the Consul will be pleased to send one of them to the said Admiral Jervis, and the other to Commodore Nelson, together with the two printed papers enclosed.

"In thus executing the orders of this Most Serene Government the Secretary renews towards the Ministerial Consul his sentiments of esteem and consideration.

"FELICIA GIACINTO GIANVELLI CASTIGLIONE."

"Genoa, 15th October, 1796."

"The greatest act of hostility that can be practised is that of surprising and seizing upon territory belonging to a neutral Prince, which was, to the last degree, done by the English in taking possession of Capraia. The Government of Genoa might dispense with answering the letters sent by Commodore Nelson, dated the 9th instant, and written in the names of Sir Gilbert Elliot and Admiral Sir John Jervis, and also the letter sent by Admiral Jervis himself of the 25th of last September, but it cannot avoid observing the acts of the 11th day of September last. Commodore Nelson, who to that time had enjoyed the effects of the Republic's neutrality, from the asylum which he found in the port of Genoa; and notwithstanding his given word (a pledge ever held sacred amongst nations), committed upon the territory of the Republic, even under the very batteries of the capital (a circumstance which does away the pretended supposition that the place of San Pier d'Arena was possessed by the French) acts of violence the most evident, by seizing and taking away a French tartane and cargo.

"This act, so contrary to the acknowledged right of nations, hath given cause to the Government of Genoa, in order to maintain its rights and neutrality, to make opposition, and take recompense, which never can be deemed an act of hostility committed by the Republic against the British ships.

"The low ground of St. Pier d'Arena being undoubtedly Genoese property, and under the very batteries of the capital, never could be considered by the English agents as a place occupied by their enemies; neither could four pieces of cannon, of small calibre, unrepaired, and without guard or charge; nor the appearance of a small number of French troops, who fired some time after the tartane had been in the hands of the English, furnish any motive for such conduct. This operation, so injurious to neutral territory and its rights, preceded by so many other repeated acts of violence and hostility committed by the English agents, by detaining at sea Genoese ships, and seizing their mercantile property, by interrupting their navigation and national commerce, without any reparation being made, notwithstanding the most pressing and repeated complaints conveyed to British agents on the part of the Republic, these are the reasons for the exclusion of British ships from the Port of Genoa.

"This measure of precaution and defence cannot be thought an hostile act, since every free and neutral power ought to attend to the protection of its territory and security of its people, but a just opposition to the maxim adopted and manifested by the English agents, to practise, under any pretences, the greatest hostilities against the Republic.

"If the Government of Genoa hath added to its resolution of excluding from

incapable of such conduct, and you had my report of the transaction, which was sufficient for you to resent, as becomes your station, and my hitherto unimpeached honour; but, if you have so far forgotten yourself and station as to permit such an infamous lie to be uncontradicted, it is my desire, and I demand it of you, that you go immediately to the Secretary of State, and state that I say, the scandal of a breach of honour lies with him for writing an untruth, with his Government for permitting it, and with their officer, who pledged

its ports British ships, that of sequestering some vessels and merchandise, declared to be British property, within the port, this is to effect that just indemnification which has been often claimed, and which ought not to be denied to the Republic. In December last, the Commissary of Capraia acquainted Sir Gilbert Elliot that permission was given to appoint an English agent in that island on the same footing with that of France. Such were the orders issued by Government on the 30th of November last, and in the following month information of them was given.

"By these public deliberations every imputation, every complaint is excluded, and the neutrality and perfect impartiality of the Republic are clearly proved by their effects.

"The English privateers can never say that they were excluded from the port of Capraia: these always found there a reception and asylum, like those of the other belligerent nations; nor has the smallest kind of armament been permitted in the said island: a few sailors indeed went out in French privateers, who have been severely punished for it, and some of them have remained a long time wanderers from their country, with the view to avoid merited chastisement.

"The great want of bullocks in the State of Genoa, the epidemic disorder discovered in the neighbouring states, and the prevention from transporting any from external countries, have determined the Government to detain those said to have been procured on account of the English, there can be no reason therefore for refusing to have the price of them returned, together with the expenses attendant on the English commission, which was done. Such a retention, being the right of preservation and subsistence, can never be deemed an hostile act, and therefore admits not of any complaint.

"All the above mentioned facts, and all the above proved acts of hostilities committed by the English agents against the Republic, her territory, her people, her commerce, and her national navigation, have recently been represented with the greatest force and confidence at the Royal Court of London.

"His Majesty, in his justice, will weigh the importance of the facts which took their beginning on the 5th of October, 1793, by the notable surprise and violent seizure, within the port of Genoa, of the French frigate, and have been continued to the present moment—he will know the irregular operations which have been carried on in the Mediterranean—and the Republic is persuaded that the most positive orders will be given for due reparation and recompense, in disapprobation of the great irregularity which has been hitherto practised.

"The Republic waits the result of these her just complaints, and in the mean time incloses a printed paper, from which the English agents may observe the deeds done by them, and the just titles of complaint and defence which belong to the Republic."

himself for the Republic's being neutral, when I gave my word of honour to observe the neutrality of Genoa, and that I would attack no vessel in its port, or under the guns of Genoa. This reciprocal pledge was given in your room, and yourself interpreted; and of course you will recollect, that I would not give my word of honour till the officer gave his for the neutrality of the Republic. I call on the Government of Genoa to say, if they understood my pledge of honour to be otherwise than that I would not commence an attack, and not that I would abstain from repelling or chastising one. You will mark the flagrant breach of honour in the Republic of Genoa. They permitted the French to enter the port of Genoa, contrary to their edict of neutrality, with vessels loaded with gunpowder: they permit all kinds of warlike stores for the attack of Neutral Powers to be landed within 300 yards of the walls of Genoa: they permit guns to be mounted by the enemies of England within the same distance. The consequence of this conduct on the part of the Government of Genoa, was, that the French fired on his Majesty's boats, and on the boats resenting the insult from what had heretofore been considered as a neutral territory, by taking a French vessel, the Government of Genoa, instead of supporting its neutrality by opening a fire upon the French battery, turned the guns of Genoa, first on his Majesty's boats, and then on the ships; and, in addition to this hostile act, they permitted a number of French armed vessels to come out of the port of Genoa to attack his Majesty's colours. This statement of facts, which I dare them to contradict, but which it was your bounden duty to have supported long since, will shew the Genoese nation, and the whole world, who has broken their parole of honour."[1]

Nelson then sailed with the fleet from Mortella Bay to Gibraltar, where he arrived on the 1st of December. But the Marquis of Spinola, Genoese Minister to the Court of London, made a formal complaint of his conduct, and charged him with acts which he must have known to be without foundation. Nelson forwarded to Sir John Jervis his statement of facts, which was transmitted to Lord Grenville, who

[1] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. ii p. 297, from a copy in the Admiralty.

communicated to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the King's "entire approval of the conduct of Nelson in all his transactions with the Republic of Genoa."

Upon the evacuation of Corsica the troops, stores, &c. were taken to Porto Ferrajo, and Government withdrew the garrison from this place on the 10th of December. Marshall[1] has observed that "the great body of Corsicans were perfectly satisfied, as they had good reason to be, with the British Government, sensible of its advantages, and attached to it; but when they found that the English intended to evacuate the island, they naturally and necessarily sent to make their peace with the French. The partisans of France found none to oppose them. A committee of thirty took upon themselves the government of Bastia, and sequestered all the British property; armed Corsicans mounted guard at every place, and a plan was laid for seizing the Viceroy. Commodore Nelson, who was appointed to superintend the evacuation, frustrated these projects. On the 14th of October, 1796, he sent word to the Committee, that if the slightest opposition was made to the embarkment and removal of British property, he would batter the town down. A privateer, moored across the mole head, pointed her guns at the officer who carried this message, and muskets were levelled against him from the shore. Hereupon, Captain Sutton, pulling out his watch, gave them a quarter of an hour to deliberate upon their answer. In five minutes after the expiration of that time, the ships, he said, would open their fire. Upon this the very sentinels scampered off, and every vessel came out of the mole. During the five following days, the work of embarkation was carried on; the property of individuals was saved, and public stores to the amount of £200,000." Sir John Jervis now ordered Nelson to hoist his distinguishing pendant on board La Minèrve frigate, to take the Blanche and go from Gibraltar to Porto Ferrajo. The vessels there also were to be taken under his command; and such was the confidence reposed in Nelson by Sir John Jervis, that he left the execution of this affair entirely to the judgment of the Commodore. Sir John Jervis wrote on this occasion to Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart., Dec. 10, 1796, "It cannot be in better hands;" and to

[1] Naval Biography, Vol. i. p. 255.

Sir Wm. Hamilton on the same day, and on the same subject: "Commodore Nelson, than whom a more able or enterprising officer does not exist, will repair to Porto Ferrajo and take upon him the command of the naval force there." In his passage from Gibraltar to Porto Ferrajo, off Carthagena, as appears from the log of La Minèrve, on the 19th, Nelson fell in with a Spanish frigate, the Santa Sabina, and took her.[1] This action was most bravely fought on both sides. Nelson, in a letter to his brother, and for his *private* journal, says, "When I hailed the Don, and told him, 'This is an English frigate,' and demanded his surrender, or I would fire into him, his answer was noble, and such as became the illustrious family from which he is descended:—'This is a Spanish frigate, and you may begin as soon as you please.' I have no idea of a closer or sharper battle: the force to a gun the same, and nearly the same number of men; we having 250. I asked him several times to surrender during the action, but his answer was, 'No, Sir; not whilst I have the means of fighting left.' When only himself of all the officers were left alive, he hailed, and said he would fight no more, and begged I would stop firing."[2] In this action Lieutenant Noble was again wounded. Nelson was then chased by four other ships, discovered on the 20th, two Spanish ships of the line and two frigates, from which, by great skill, La Minerve escaped, though crippled by the action on the previous day, and La Sabina was retaken by the Spanish Admiral. Nelson proposed to exchange the Captain of the Sabina, Don Jacobo

[1] In 1796 (Aug. 19), a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, had united Holland, and was about to unite Spain, with France. A treaty, signed at Madrid, between the descendant of Philip V. and the French Directory, stipulated that in three months time either of these powers desiring the assistance of the other, should receive 13 sail of the line and 10 large frigates or corvettes, with their crews and necessary supplies. This treaty was ratified in Paris on the 12th Sept., and three days after the English Government ordered the seizure of all the Spanish ships anchored in the ports of England. Spain answered this embargo by a declaration of war, and the fleet of Admiral Don Juan de Langara, leaving Cadiz, sailed immediately for the Straits.[1]

[2] Autograph in the Nelson Papers.

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[1] Plunkett's Last Naval War, Vol. i. p. 132.

Stuart, then on board his vessel, for Lieutenants Culverhouse[1] and Hardy,[2] taken on board the Sabina.

On the 24th he took a French privateer off the south end of Sardinia. He arrived at Porte Ferrajo on the 27th, but as General De Burgh had not received orders to abandon the place, although he agreed with Nelson that his further stay was useless, the troops did not embark.

Nelson opens the year 1797 with a letter to his father, alluding to his action with the Sabina, and the character of his late prisoner, her Captain, Don Jacobo Stuart, a descendant from the Duke of Berwick, son of James II. Nelson returned to him his sword, and sent him in a flag of truce to Spain. He thus expresses himself: "I felt it consonant to the dignity of my country, and I always act as I feel right, without regard to custom: he was reputed the best officer in Spain, and his men were worthy of such a Commander; he was the only surviving officer."[3]

Quitting Porto Ferrajo, Nelson proceeded to reconnoitre Toulon and Carthagena; he arrived at Gibraltar on the 9th of February, and on the 13th joined the fleet off Cape St. Vincent. He then hoisted his broad pendant on board the Captain. He only arrived just in time to be present at the celebrated battle of St. Vincent, and had been chased from Gibraltar by two Spanish line-of-battle ships. He had, however, accomplished that respecting which he was so anxious, namely, to join Sir John Jervis, having found at Carthagena that the Spanish fleet had sailed. In the action of St. Vincent, which took place the day after his arrival, Nelson, as usual, was in the thickest. This is indeed apparent in the list of killed and wounded in the different vessels. The total of British force killed in this action amounted to 73, of whom Nelson's ship furnished 24. Of wounded, the total 227, Nelson's vessel numbering 56.

1 Lieutenant Culverhouse was promoted for this action, and made a Post Captain in 1802. He was appointed Agent for Transports at the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1809 was, together with his wife, unfortunately drowned in Table Bay.

2 Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy, Bart. G.C.B. died, at the age of 70 years, Governor of Greenwich Hospital, Sept. 20, 1839. He was dearly beloved by Nelson, as the events towards the close of the great naval hero's career will sufficiently shew.

3 Clarke and McArthur, Vol. i. p. 342.

List of the British Fleet opposed to the Spanish, February 14, 1797.

	Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.	Killed.	Wounded.
1.	Victory	100	Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B. 1st Captain, Robert Calder 2nd Captain, George Grey	1	5
2.	Britannia	100	Vice-Admiral Thompson Captain T. Foley	—	1
3.	Barfleur	98	Vice-Admiral Hon. W. Waldegrave Captain Jas. Rich. Dacres	—	7
4.	Prince George	98	Rear-Admiral William Parker Captain John Irwin	8	7
5.	Blenheim	90	Captain Thos. L. Frederick	12	49
6.	Namur	90	Captain J. H. Whitshed	2	5
7.	Captain	74	Commodore Nelson Captain R. W. Miller	24	56
8.	Goliath	74	Captain Sir C. H. Knowles	—	8
9.	Excellent	74	Captain C. Collingwood	11	12
10.	Orion	74	Captain Sir James Saumarez	—	9
11.	Colossus	74	Captain George Murray	—	5
12.	Egmont	74	Captain John Sutton	—	—
13.	Culloden	74	Captain Thomas Troubridge	10	47
14.	Irresistible	74	Captain George Martin	5	14
15.	Diadem	64	Captain G. H. Towry	—	2
			Total	73	227

List of the Spanish Fleet opposed to the British.

		Guns.		Killed.	Wounded.
1.	Santissima Trinidada	130			
2.	Mexicana	112			
3.	Principe de Asturias	112			
4.	Conception	112			
5.	Conde de Regla	112			
6.	Salvador del Mundo	112	Taken	42	124
7.	San Josef	112	Taken	46	96
8.	San Nicolas	84	Taken	144	59
9.	Oriente	74			
10.	Glorioso	74			
11.	Atlante	74			
12.	Conquestador	74			
13.	Soberano	74			
14.	Firme	74			
15.	Pelayo	74			
16.	San Genaro	74			
17.	San Juan Nepomuceno	74			
18.	San Francisco de Paula	74			
19.	San Ysidro	74	Taken	29	63
20.	San Antonio	74			
21.	San Pablo	74			

	Guns.
22. San Firmin	74
23. Neptuna	74
24. Bahama	74
25. St. Domingo	74
26. Terrible	74
27. Il Defenso	74

Thus twenty-seven sail of the line, Spanish force, were opposed to fifteen. Four vessels, the Salvador del Mundo, 112 guns; the San Josef, 112 guns; the San Nicolas, 84 guns; and the San Ysidro, 74 guns, were taken. In this action Nelson was much bruised, but not sufficiently so to induce him to quit the deck. It is remarkable that in the Dispatches of Sir John Jervis, one Captain only (the bearer of the Dispatches), Captain Calder,[1] of the Victory, was mentioned. The services of Nelson, Troubridge,[2] Colling-

[1] Sir Robert Calder, Bart. was born July 2, 1745, entered theNavy in 1759, and made Post Captain in 1780. He was Sir John Jervis's first Captain in the action of the 14th February, 1797, and conveying home the Dispatches received the honour of Knighthood. In the following year, August 22, 1798, he was created a Baronet. He attained the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1799, and in the following year hoisted his flag in the Channel Fleet under the Earl of St. Vincent. His conduct in a contest with the combined French and Spanish squadrons on the 22nd July, 1805, became the subject of inquiry at his own request, and the Court adjudicated that he had not done his utmost to renew the engagement, and to take and destroy every ship of the enemy; which neglect was attributed to an error in judgment, and he was sentenced to be severely reprimanded. In 1810, he succeeded Admiral Young as Commander-in-chief at Plymouth, and died Admiral of the White in 1818.

[2] This able and zealous officer, one of Nelson's most attached friends, and who has been justly designated "as a pattern of professional excellence, of undaunted valour, and of patriotic worth, entered the naval service under the gallant but unfortunate Capt. George Farmer, of the Seahorse. He was made Post Captain in 1783, served in India, and upon his return to England was appointed to the Castor, 32 guns, engaged to convoy 14 sail of vessels from the Channel Islands to Newfoundland in 1794, and was captured by a French squadron. Captain Brenton[1] tells a good anecdote of Captain Troubridge which occurred on board the Sans Pareille on the morning of the 1st of June, 1794. "Captain Troubridge, who had been recently taken in the Castor with his convoy bound to Newfoundland, was a prisoner on board the French ship above named, where Rear-Admiral Neuilly had his flag flying: after Lord Howe had obtained his position, and had drawn his fleet into a line parallel to that of the enemy, he brought to, and made the signal to go to breakfast. Troubridge knew the purport of the signal, and telling it to the French Admiral, they took the advantage of the time allowed them for the same repast. Troubridge, whose appetite never forsook him

[1] Naval History, Vol. i. p. 308.

wood, and Frederick,[3] though in the severest parts of the conflict, were not recorded. Their services were noted to Earl

on these occasions, was helping himself to a large slice from a brown loaf, when the French Captain observed to him by an interpreter (for Troubridge never would learn their language), that the English Admiral shewed no disposition to fight, and he was certain did not intend it. "What!" said the English hero, dropping his loaf, and laying his hand almost too emphatically on the Frenchman's shoulder, while he looked him furiously in the face, "Not fight! stop till they have had their breakfasts, I know John Bull d——d well, and when his belly is full, you will get it." In a few minutes after this the British fleet bore up to engage. Troubridge was sent into the boatswain's store-room, where for a length of time he leaned against the foremast, and amused himself in pouring forth every invective against the French, and the man appointed to guard him. Suddenly he felt the vibration of the mast, and heard it fall over the side; when grasping the astonished Frenchman with both his hands, he began to jump and caper with all the gestures of a maniac. The Sans Pareille soon after surrendered, and Troubridge assisted in setting her to rights, and taking her into port." He was afterwards appointed to the Culloden, 74 guns, and placed under the command of the Earl Howe. He was in Lord Hotham's engagement of the 13th July, and it was he who first descried the Spanish fleet which was brought to action by Sir John Jervis on the 14th of February, 1797. In this action he greatly distinguished himself. No less bravery was exhibited by him in the attack of Santa Cruz, with others of Nelson's chosen band, and also in various other valorous exploits, as detailed in these pages. The Culloden having got aground at Aboukir, he had the great mortification of being present at, though unable to take a part in, the Battle of the Nile. Hewas afterwards employed in the blockade of Alexandria and also of Naples, and received the Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit. He was at the taking of the Castle of St. Elmo, Civita Vecchia, &c. and in 1799 was created a Baronet. Returned to England he was made Captain of the Channel Fleet, and afterwards became one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in which he continued until May, 1804. In this year he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and took the command in the Indian seas in the Blenheim. In 1806, he was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Cape of Good Hope; during a hard gale off the Mauritius, his vessel, which was in a decayed state, was lost sight of, and no intelligence of her was ever received. His son, Edward Thomas, succeeded to the Baronetcy, and is now a Rear-Admiral of the White.

Nelson's opinion, as expressed in a letter to the Earl of St. Vincent, written in October, 1798, will appropriately close this short notice of Admiral Troubridge: "I have experienced the ability and activity of his mind and body: it was Troubridge that equipped the squadron so soon at Syracuse; it was he that exerted himself for me after the action; it was Troubridge who saved the Culloden, when none that I know in the service would have attempted it; it was Troubridge whom I left as myself at Naples to watch movements; he is, as a friend and an officer, a *non pareil!*"[1]

[3] Capt. Thomas Lenox Frederick, was born March 25th, 1750, in the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, and succeeded his grandfather, Sir John Fre-

[1] Tucker's Memoirs of Earl St. Vincent, Vol. i. p. 455.

Spencer in a letter, which, however, did not appear in the Gazette. From this letter it appears that Nelson "contributed very much to the fortune of the day," and took possession of the San Josef and the San Nicolas.

Lord Collingwood looked upon this action as superior in every respect to that of the 1st of June, at which he was present; and in a letter to his relative, J. E. Blackett, Esq. relates some particulars of Nelson's conduct in this battle. He says: "After I had driven the San Nicolas on board the San Josef, and left them on their fire ceasing, to be taken possession of by somebody behind, they fell on board my good friend the Commodore, and as they had not surrendered, he, in his own active person, at the head of his ship's company, boarded them, and drove the Spaniards from deck to deck at the point of their swords. They at last both surrendered; and the Commodore, on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first-rate, San Josef, received the submission and the swords of the officers of the two ships, while one of his sailors, (William Fearney, one of Nelson's bargemen) bundled them up with as much composure as he would have made a faggot, though

derick, Bart., in his title and estate. His father was Sir Charles Frederick, K.B. Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, and M.P. for Queenborough. He was a highly educated officer, and very greatly esteemed. He went to sea in 1768 under Sir Peter Parker. He was made Post Captain in 1779, after having been honourably acquitted for the loss of his ship in a fog off the coast of Newfoundland. He was afterwards taken prisoner in the Unicorn, and carried into Martinique. Appointed to the Diomede, and sent off the North American station, he gallantly captured the Santa Carolina of 40 guns after a chase of eighteen hours and a half. On the breaking out of the French war in 1793, Captain Frederick was appointed to the Illustrious, 74 guns. He was with Lord Hood at the taking of Toulon. He remained with Lord Hotham, and was in his action in March, 1795, and was certainly the most distinguished warrior of that day. His ship, from having been in conflict with two French men-of-war, one of 80, the other of 74 guns, both of which he defeated, was so shattered that the Meleager was obliged to take her in tow, but a gale coming on, she was lost. He was then appointed to the Blenheim, and made a Rear-Admiral. He was afterwards engaged in the long blockade off Toulon, and was with Sir John Jervis on the 14th of February, 1797, to the glory of which day he greatly contributed. After taking a convoy to Lisbon he again joined Earl St. Vincent on the resumption of the blockade of Cadiz, at which the Blenheim was made one of the reporting ships. In the autumn of 1798 he returned to England, and in 1799 struck his flag. His health was seriously decayed, and he died October 7th, 1799, in Nottingham Place, London.

22 sail of their line were still within gun-shot."[1] Collingwood rendered Nelson great assistance on that day, and came admirably to the relief of the Captain, which was terribly mauled. Nelson acknowledged these services in a letter of the following day: "'A friend in need is a friend in deed' was never more truly verified than by your most noble and gallant conduct yesterday, in sparing the Captain from further loss. We shall meet at Lagos; but I could not come near you without assuring you how sensible I am of your assistance, in nearly a critical situation." Collingwood replied: "It added very much to the satisfaction which I felt in thumping the Spaniards, that I released you a little."

When Nelson boarded[2] the San Josef, the Spanish Captain presented to him the Spanish Admiral's sword,[3] and when Sir John Jervis received Nelson on the quarter-deck of the Victory after the action, he said he could not sufficiently thank him, and insisted on his keeping the sword of the Spanish Admiral which he had so bravely won.[4]

Sir Horatio Nelson presented this sword to the city of Norwich. The following letter, addressed by him on this occasion to Wm. Herring, Esq. the Mayor, is taken from a fac-simile made at the request of Page Nicol Scott,[5] Esq. Surgeon of Norwich, and Assistant-Surgeon in the Royal Navy in 1805:

"Irresistible, off Lisbon,
Feb. 26th, 1797.

"Sir,

"Having the good fortune, on the most glorious 14th of February, to become possessed of the sword of the Spanish

1 Memoirs and Correspondence, Vol. i. p. 51.

2 The manner in which this was effected gave rise to a saying, "Nelson's Patent Bridge for Boarding First-Raters," alluding to his having passed over an enemy's 80-gun ship to capture another, the San Josef.

3 Don Francisco Xavier Winthuysen, Rear-Admiral, who died of his wounds received on board the San Josef in this action.

4 When Nelson came on board the Admiral's ship after the action, Sir J. Jervis is reported to have been so delighted with his exertions that he clasped him in his arms, covered over and disfigured by dirt as he was, and with part of his hat shot away.

5 This estimable and philanthropic man, whose exertions to serve Tom Allen, and others, attached to and esteemed by Nelson, will be noticed in the subsequent pages, died April 27, 1848.

Rear-Admiral Don Xavier Francisco Winthuysen in the way set forth in the paper transmitted herewith,

"And being born in the County of Norfolk, I beg leave to present the sword to the City of Norwich in order to its being preserved as a memento of this event, and of my affection for my native county.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"HORATIO NELSON.

"To the Mayor of Norwich."

This present is highly prized by the people of Norwich, and in the Council Chamber of the Hall in the market-place is the following device: an anchor, to which is suspended a yard and sail, supposed to have been shot away in action. On the sail is inscribed, "The sword of the Spanish Admiral Don Xavier Winthuysen, who died of wounds he received in an engagement with the British fleet, under the command of Admiral Earl of St. Vincent, 14th February, 1797, which ended in the most brilliant victory ever obtained by this country over the enemy at sea, wherein the heroic valour and cool determined courage of Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. had ample scope for their display. He, being a native of Norfolk, honoured the city by presenting this sword, surrendered to him in that action." The sword is suspended from the flukes of the anchor, and beneath are the Arms granted to Nelson by George III. The crest is the stern of a man-of-war, and the supporters a sailor bearing a British lion trampling on the Spanish colours, the motto "Faith and Works."

Nelson was in the habit of calling the day on which this battle was fought, "The most glorious Valentine's day." For his gallant services he received the Knighthood and Order of the Bath, and Sir John Jervis was made Earl of St. Vincent.

That Nelson's genius could not be fettered by orders, his conduct at this battle fully demonstrates. By a vigorous cannonade nine Spanish vessels had been detached from the

enemy's fleet, and cut off to leeward. The Spanish Admiral endeavoured to repair this disaster, and was wearing round the British lines, when Nelson, who was in the sternmost ship, disregarded his orders, stood directly towards him, and penetrated into the midst of the hostile squadron. Alison has suggested that this circumstance may have operated so as to prevent Nelson's name being mentioned in Earl St. Vincent's Dispatches, though the British Admiral is said to have appreciated its boldness, and to have admitted its propriety. That Nelson's great ability was recognized by the Admiral, is shewn by the manner in which he was received by him after the action. His conduct in running his ship (the Captain, of 74 guns) between the Santissima Trinidada of 136 guns and the San Josef of 112, is justly regarded by naval men as one of the boldest things ever executed in the service. The superior equipment of our ships, and the ability of our seamen were magnificently shewn in this action, where the disparity of numbers was so exceedingly great.

Writing to his uncle, Wm. Suckling, Esq. Feb. 23, 1797,[1] he says: "The event of the late battle has been most glorious for England, and you will receive pleasure from the share I had in making it a most brilliant day, the most so of any I know in the annals of England. *Nelson's patent bridge* for boarding first-rates, will be a saying never forgotten in this fleet, where all do me the justice I deserve. The *Victory* and every ship in the fleet, passing the glorious group, gave me three cheers."

Lieutenant-Colonel Drinkwater published a very animated "Narrative" of this battle, of which he was a spectator in the Lively, into which he had removed from La Minèrve in company with Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Viceroy of Corsica, taking a passage from Porto Ferrajo. The Colonel says: "When Sir John Jervis on the 14th of February, had accomplished his bold intention of breaking the enemy's line, the Spanish Admiral, who had been separated to windward with his main body, consisting of 18 ships of the line, from 9 ships that were cut off to leeward, appeared to make a movement as if with a view to join the latter. This design was completely

[1] Athenæum for 1834, p. 807.

frustrated by the timely opposition of Commodore Nelson, whose station in the rear of the British line afforded him an opportunity of observing this manœuvre. His ship, the Captain, had no sooner passed the rear of the enemy's ships that were to windward, than he ordered her to wear, and stood on the other tack towards the enemy.

"In executing this bold and decisive manœuvre, the Commodore reached the sixth ship from the enemy's rear, which bore the Spanish Admiral's flag, the Santissima Trinidada, of 136 guns, a ship of four decks, reported to be the largest in the world. Notwithstanding the inequality of the force, the Commodore instantly engaged this colossal opponent, and for a considerable time had to contend not only with her, but with her seconds, a-head and a-stern, each of three decks. While he maintained this unequal combat, which was viewed with admiration, mixed with anxiety, his friends were flying to his support. The enemy's attention was soon directed to the Culloden, Captain Troubridge; and in a short time after to the Blenheim, of 90 guns, Captain Frederick, who fortunately came to his assistance.

"The intrepid conduct of the Commodore staggered the Spanish Admiral, who already appeared to waver in pursuing his intention of joining the ships cut off by the British fleet; when the Culloden's timely arrival, and Captain Troubridge's spirited support of the Commodore, together with the approach of the Blenheim, followed by Rear-Admiral Parker, with the Prince George, Orion, Irresistible and Diadem, not far distant, determined the Spanish Admiral to change his design altogether, and to throw out the signal for the ships' main body to haul their wind, and to make sail on the larboard tack.

"Not a moment was lost in improving the advantage now apparent in favour of the British squadron. As the ships of Rear-Admiral Parker's division approached the enemy's ships, in support of the Captain, Commodore Nelson's ship, and her gallant seconds, the Blenheim and Culloden, the cannonade became more animated and impressive. In this manner did Commodore Nelson engage a Spanish three-decker until he had nearly expended all the ammunition in his ship, which had suffered the loss of her fore-topmast, and received such con-

siderable damage in her sails and rigging that she was almost rendered *hors du combat.* At this critical period, the Spanish three-decker having lost her mizen-mast, fell on board a Spanish two-decker of 84 guns, that was her second: this latter ship consequently now became the Commodore's opponent, and a most vigorous fire was kept up for some time by both ships within pistol-shot.

"It was now that the Commodore's ship lost many men, and that the damages already sustained, through the long and arduous conflict which she had sustained, appeared to render a continuance of the contest, in the usual way, precarious or perhaps impossible. At this critical moment the Commodore, from a sudden impulse, instantly resolved on a bold and decisive measure; and determined, whatever might be the event, to attempt his opponent sword in hand. The boarders were summoned, and orders given to lay his ship on board the enemy.

"'Fortune favours the brave!' nor on this occasion was she unmindful of her favourite. Ralph Willet Miller, the Commodore's Captain, so judiciously directed the course of the ship, that he laid her aboard the starboard quarter of the Spanish eighty-four: her spritsail-yard passing over the enemy's poop, and hooking in her mizen shrouds; when the word to board being given, the officers and seamen destined for this perilous duty, headed by Lieutenant Berry, together with the detachment of the sixty-ninth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Pearson, then doing duty as marines on board the Captain, passed with rapidity on board the enemy's ship; and in a short time the San Nicolas was in possession of her intrepid assailants. The Commodore's ardour would not permit him to remain an inactive spectator of this scene. He was aware the attempt was hazardous, and he thought his presence might animate his brave companions, and contribute to the success of this bold enterprise; he, therefore, as if by magic impulse, accompanied the party in this attack; passing from the fore-chains of his own ship into the enemy's quarter-gallery, and thence through the cabin to the quarter-deck, where he arrived in time to receive the sword of the dying Commander, who had been mortally wounded by the boarders.

"He had not long been employed in taking the necessary measures to secure this hard-earned conquest, when he found himself engaged in a more arduous task. The stern of the three-decker, his former opponent, was placed directly amidships of the weather beam of the prize, San Nicolas; and from her poop and galleries the enemy sorely annoyed with musquetry the British, who had boarded the San Nicolas. The Commodore was not long in resolving on the conduct to be adopted on this momentous occasion. The two alternatives that presented themselves to his unshaken mind, were, to quit the prize, or instantly board the three-decker: confident of the bravery of his seamen, he determined on the latter. Directing, therefore, an additional number of men to be sent from the Captain on board the San Nicolas, the undaunted Commodore, whom no danger ever appalled, headed himself the assailants in this new attack, exclaiming, WESTMINSTER ABBEY! or GLORIOUS VICTORY!

"Success, in a few minutes, and with little loss, crowned the enterprise. Such indeed was the panic occasioned by his preceding conduct, that the British no sooner appeared on the quarter-deck of their new opponent, than the Commander advanced, and asking for the British commanding officer, dropped on one knee, and presented his sword, apologizing at the same time for the Spanish Admiral's not appearing, as he was dangerously wounded. For a moment, Commodore Nelson could scarcely persuade himself of this second instance of good fortune: he therefore ordered the Spanish Commandant, who had the rank of a brigadier, to assemble the officers on the quarter-deck, and direct means to be taken instantly for communicating to the crew the surrender of the ship. All the officers immediately appeared, and the Commodore had the surrender of the San Josef duly confirmed by each of them delivering his sword."

The difference of strength opposed to each other in this action was very remarkable, and Captain Brenton has observed that from the day of the battle of Cape St. Vincent, "the old fashion of counting the ships of an enemy's fleet, and calculating the disparity of force, was entirely laid aside, and a new æra commenced in the art of war at sea."[1] He also

[1] Naval History, Vol. ii. p. 152.

remarks, "If we estimate the merits of this action only as to the numerical loss of the enemy, we shall form a very inadequate notion of its importance. The French from this period no longer relied on the assistance of Spain; jealousy was sown between them, and the Spaniards became the friends of Britain and the secret enemies of the French Republic. This battle may be said to have paralyzed the power of Spain, and to have reduced its marine to a nonentity."[1]

[1] Naval History, Vol. ii. p. 156.

CHAPTER V.

1797—1798.

AFTER the glorious battle off Cape St. Vincent, in which so many brave officers had distinguished themselves, Nelson hoisted his pendant on board the Irresistible, his own ship, the Captain, having suffered very great damage from the part she had sustained in the action. For his bravery on this occasion, Nelson received the Freedom of London in a gold box, also that of Norwich, Bath, Bristol, and some other corporations. On the 20th of February, he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue. Before, however, he was acquainted with his promotion, having anchored with the fleet in the Tagus, he was dispatched with a squadron to cruise off Cadiz, to watch the Spanish fleet, and intercept the Viceroy of Mexico, whose arrival with a large treasure was expected.

When Nelson first beheld the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, he could not help exclaiming that he thought them the finest in the world, and he added, "Thank God, the Spaniards cannot build men." M. Thiers, however, formed a different opinion of the Spanish ships; he says of them: "But those vast machines of war, which reminded one of the ancient splendour of the Spanish monarchy under Charles III., were like the Turkish ships, superb in appearance, useless in danger. The penury of the Spanish arsenals had not allowed them to be properly rigged, and the weakness of the crews was distressing."—"Mais ces vastes machines de guerre, qui rappeloient l'ancien éclat de la monarchie espagnole sous Charles III. étaient, comme les vaisseaux Turcs, superbes en apparence, inutiles dans le danger. Le dénûment des arsenaux espagnols n'avait pas permis de les gréer convenablement, et ils étaient quant aux équipages d'une faiblesse désespérante."[1]

To Mr. McArthur, Nelson wrote off Lagos Bay, March

[1] Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire, Tom. vi. liv. xxii. p. 140.

16th, 1797:—"I am here, looking for the Viceroy of Mexico, with three sail of the line, and hope to meet him. Two first-rates, and a 74 are with him; but the larger the ships, the better the mark, and who will not fight for dollars?"[1]

On the 11th of April he blockaded Cadiz; but on the 12th went to Porto Ferrajo to bring off the troops there, the blockading of Cadiz being confided to Sir James Saumarez.[2]

[1] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. ii. p. 363.

[2] This officer is of an ancient family which settled in Guernsey. He was born March 11th, 1757, and entered the navy in 1770, being first employed on the Mediterranean station. Made Lieutenant, he sailed in the Bristol, under Sir Peter Parker, off Charlestown and South Carolina, his conduct obtaining for him the approbation of his Commodore. He cruised off the American coast, and captured several privateers. Under Lord Howe he commanded a galley which was burnt, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy at Rhode Island, and he returned home in the Leviathan, when he was appointed to the Victory, and served in the Channel fleet, from which he was removed into the Fortitude, and went with Sir Hyde Parker to the North Sea. Afterwards sailing with a detachment of the Channel fleet, Captain Saumarez was the first to descry the Count de Guichen's squadron, and his exertions on this occasion called forth the approbation of Admiral Kempenfelt, who sent him to Sir Samuel Hood, then commanding in the West Indies, and he was appointed to the Russell of 74 guns, though only 24 years of age. He was in the battle of 12th April, 1782, doing very effective service. He was sent home by Sir George Rodney with the Ville de Paris and other prizes, and then joined Sir Peter Parker with a convoy for Jamaica. On the commencement of hostilities in 1787, he was again employed, and in 1793 was engaged in a spirited conflict with the Reunion, French frigate, off Cherbourg, for which he received the honour of Knighthood, and a piece of plate from the merchants of London. In 1795 he took the command of the Orion, 74 guns, and formed part of the Channel fleet under Lord Bridport. He was in the celebrated action off Cape St. Vincent, and took possession of the Salvador del Mundo, of 112 guns. He was subsequently engaged in the blockade of Cadiz. In 1798 he accompanied Sir Horatio Nelson, and partook of the glories of the battle of the Nile, in which he was slightly wounded. Nineteen of the seamen of L'Orient, when she blew up, swam and were received on board the Orion, and treated with all kindness. Sir James Saumarez was entrusted to convey the prizes home, and on his way gave assistance in arms and ammunition to the Maltese. On the 14th February, 1799, he was made a Colonel of Marines, appointed to the Cæsar, and attached to the Channel fleet. He was employed in the blockade of Brest Harbour, and endured no little fatigue. In 1801 he was created a Baronet. He was in the action with the French squadron under Admiral Linois, off Algeziras; the English, however, after five hours conflict, withdrew, and returned to Gibraltar Bay. Saumarez again fought a noble battle off Cape Trafalgar, in the Straits of Gibraltar in July, seven days only after the preceding, with the great disadvantage of disabled and injured ships. He received the Order of the Bath, and was invested at Gibraltar by General O'Hara, the King's Commissioner, and the Parliament voted him a pension of £1200 *per annum* for his life. The City of London presented him with the Freedom of the City, their Thanks, and a Sword, which

On the 21st he wrote to Sir John Jervis, off the southern end of Corsica, that he had fallen in with the convoy under Captain Fremantle, having the troops on board. He was most anxious to return to the Commander-in-chief, and he hoisted his flag on board the Theseus, and was appointed to the command of the in-shore squadron, a most active service. Much anxiety was felt for a reinforcement, as the combined fleet was expected to amount to forty sail of the line. He kept a sharp look out for them, and watched every movement. In his report to Sir John Jervis, June 13th, he says, "I have given out a line of battle, myself to lead, and you may rest assured that I will make a vigorous attack upon them, the moment their noses are outside the Diamond."[1] He writes also to his wife on the 15th:—"A few nights ago a paper was dropped on the quarter-deck, of which this is a copy: 'Success attend Admiral Nelson! God bless Captain Miller![2] We thank them for the officers they have placed

was delivered to him in March, 1803. On occasion of the Thanks of the House of Lords being moved by Earl St. Vincent, to Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumarez, for these triumphs, Lord Nelson seconded the motion, and asserted that "a greater action was never fought than that of Sir James Saumarez." In 1814 he was made Admiral of the Red, and in 1831 was raised to the Peerage under the title of Baron de Saumarez. He died on the 9th of October, 1836.

[1] Tucker's Memoirs of Earl St. Vincent, Vol. i. p. 412.

[2] Captain Ralph Willet Miller, was an officer who possessed Nelson's entire confidence. He was the son of an American loyalist, and born in New York, January 24th, 1762. He entered the navy in 1778 under Admiral Gambier, and was employed against the American rebels, and he afterwards partook of the glories appertaining to those who were engaged in the actions fought by Admirals Barington, Rodney, Hood, and Graves. He was made a Lieutenant by Rodney in 1781. Off Toulon, on the batteries and in the destruction of the arsenal and shipping, he manifested great zeal and ability. He was engaged in the taking of San Fiorenzo, Bastia, and Calvi, and was very active in the harassing warfare carried on off Corsica. He attempted, at great personal hazard, to fire the French fleet in Gourjean Bay, but did not succeed in his endeavours. He was in Lord Hotham's actions in 1795. He likewise distinguished himself on the 14th February, 1797, and at the subsequent blockade of Cadiz. He was the first man to enter the mole at the unfortunate attack on Santa Cruz. At the battle of the Nile he was no less active, and was, on this occasion, wounded in the face. He was with Sir Sidney Smith at Acre, and commanded the Naval force at that siege, whilst Sir Sidney was carrying on operations on shore. Intelligence having been received that a squadron of French frigates had left Alexandria, to land ammunition and stores at Joppa for Buonaparte, he was sent to intercept them, but unhappily whilst engaged in preparing some shells on board the Theseus, an accident oc-

over us. We are happy and comfortable, and will shed every drop of blood in our veins to support them, and the name of the Theseus shall be immortalized as high as the Captain's.

"SHIP'S COMPANY."[1]

The bombardment of Cadiz commenced on the night of the 3rd of July. Nelson regarded his personal courage in this service as more conspicuous than at any other time of his life. He says,—"In an attack of the Spanish gun-boats, I was boarded in my barge with its common crew of ten men, Coxswain, Captain Fremantle,[2] and myself, by the

curred, by which he and many others lost their lives. Lieutenant England communicated this melancholy intelligence to Sir Sidney Smith, in the following letter, dated off Mount Carmel in Syria, May 15, 1799:—"It is with extreme concern I have to acquaint you, that yesterday morning, at half-past nine o'clock, twenty 36-howitzer shells, and fifty 18-pounder shells, had been got up and prepared ready for service by Captain Miller's order, the ship then close off Cesarea, when in an instant, owing to an accident that we have not been able to discover, the whole was on fire, and a dreadful explosion took place. The ship was immediately in flames: in the main rigging and mizen-top, in the cock-pit, in the tiers, in several places about the main deck, and in various other parts of the ship. The danger was very imminent, and required an uncommon exertion of every one to get under so collected a body of fire as made its appearance; and I have the happiness to add, that our exertions were crowned with success, the fire got under, and the ship was most miraculously preserved.

"Our loss from the explosion, I here lament, has been very great; and Captain Miller, I am sorry to add, is of the number killed, which amount to 20; drowned, 9; and 45 wounded. The whole of the poop and after part of the quarter-deck is entirely blown to pieces, and all the beams destroyed; eight of the main-deck beams also broke, which fell down and jammed the tiller; all the ward-room bulk heads and windows entirely blown to pieces, and the ship left a perfect wreck. In short, a greater scene of horror or devastation could not be produced; and we are all truly grateful to God Almighty for His most signal preservation, in saving us from a danger so very great and alarming."

Nelson's distress at the loss of Miller is apparent in many of his letters. To Manley he says: "He is not only a most excellent and gallant officer, but the only truly virtuous man that I ever saw." Nelson manifested his deep regard by most liberal efforts to promote the erection of a monument, suggested by Captain Berry, to his memory, designed by Flaxman, and placed in St. Paul's Cathedral. Government granted a pension of £100. *per annum* to Captain Miller's widow for her life, and £25. each to two daughters, one eight, and the other seven years of age, until they should marry.

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 19.

[2] Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, G. C. B., was created by the Emperor Francis, a Baron of the Austrian empire, November 29th, 1816, which, by permission, his son (created a Baronet, August 14, 1821) inherits. He was also a Knight of the Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit. He was made Captain, May

commander of the gun-boats. The Spanish barge rowed twenty-six oars, besides officers, thirty in the whole; this was a service hand to hand, with swords, in which my Coxswain, John Sykes (now no more), twice saved my life. Eighteen of the Spaniards being killed, and several wounded, we succeeded in taking their commander."[1]

The fatigue, anxiety, and personal danger incurred in this service were very great. To confine the enemy as closely as possible to their port, we are told that it was the practice every night to send from each of the ships, forming the blockade, one or more boats well manned, armed, and supplied with a good store of ammunition, into the very mouth of the harbour. These boats were supported by gun-boats, which had been expressly fitted out for this occasion, and could only be protected by the inner line of ships which Sir Horatio Nelson had posted to render the blockade complete, and the escape of any vessel of the enemy nearly impossible. When the boats were thus arranged, the Rear-Admiral made his inspection, and rowed through them according to their arrangement. The duty was therefore most active, and all danger of surprise from the enemy effectually guarded against. Occasions for offensive measures frequently presented themselves, for the Spaniards were alert in the same modes of precaution and warfare. They equipped numerous gun-boats and launches, to check the too near approach of our boats; and to avoid any mischief that might be exercised against their vessels, many skirmishes between these parties took place, and it is to one of these that Nelson alludes in the preceding extract, which was a conflict between Sir Horatio and Don Miguel Tyrason, a Spanish commander. The great disparity of force in the contending parties on this occasion, probably places the bravery of Nelson, and his indomitable crew, beyond that of almost any other transaction in which they were engaged. The Spanish commander was wounded and taken prisoner, and eighteen of his crew killed, and several wounded. According to Nelson's return, we lost

16th, 1793; Rear-Admiral, July 31st, 1810; and he died at Naples after a short illness of less than 24 hours, on the 19th of December, 1819, a Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.

[1] Autobiographical Sketch of his Life.

only one killed, and twenty wounded. The following extracts from Nelson's letters cannot be read without interest:—

"July 3rd, 1797.

"We will begin this night by ten o'clock; and I beg that all the launches of the fleet may be with me by eight, or half-past at farthest, also all the barges or pinnaces. I wish to make it a warm night at Cadiz. The town and their fleet are prepared, and their gun-boats are advanced; so much the better. If they venture from their walls, I shall give Johnny his full scope for fighting."[1]

"Theseus, July 4th, 1797.

"The Spaniards having sent out a great number of mortar gun-boats, and armed launches, I directed a vigorous attack to be made on them, which was done with such gallantry, that they were drove and pursued close to the walls of Cadiz, and must have suffered considerable loss; and I have the pleasure to inform you that two mortar boats and an armed launch remained in our possession.

"I feel myself particularly indebted for the successful termination of this contest, to the gallantry of Captains Fremantle and Miller, the former of whom accompanied me in my barge; and to my Coxswain, John Sykes,[2] who, in defending my person, is most severely wounded; as was Captain Fremantle slightly in the attack. And my praises are generally due to every officer and man, some of whom I saw behave in the most noble manner, and I regret it is not in my power to particularize them. I must also beg to be permitted to express my admiration of Don Miguel Tyrason, the commander of the gun-boats. In his barge, he laid my boat alongside, and his resistance was such as did honour to a brave officer; eighteen of the twenty-six men being killed, and himself and all the rest wounded."[3]

In reporting this action to the British Government, Sir John Jervis writes:—"The Rear-Admiral, who is always present in the most arduous enterprises, with the assistance of some other barges, boarded and carried five of the enemy's

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 22.

[2] This brave fellow was rewarded by the Commander-in-chief with a Gunner's warrant, and he was appointed to the Andromache. He, poor fellow, was killed by the bursting of a cannon.

[3] From the original in the Admiralty.

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gun-boats, and a barge launch of one of their ships of war, with the Commandant of the flotilla. In this short conflict eighteen or twenty Spaniards were killed, the Commandant and several wounded; he and twenty-five men were made prisoners; the rest swam ashore.

"This spirited action was performed with inconsiderable loss on our part. Rear-Admiral Nelson's actions speak for themselves; any praise of mine would fall very short of his merit."

On the 5th of July Sir Horatio Nelson made a second bombardment of Cadiz, which produced considerable effect in the town, and among the shipping, with little loss (three killed and sixteen wounded) to our service.

In acquainting Sir John Jervis of the proceedings of this second bombardment of Cadiz, Nelson says:—"News from Cadiz, by a market boat, that our ships did much damage; the town was on fire in three places; a shell that fell in a convent destroyed several priests (that no harm, they will never be missed); that plunder and robbery was going on—a glorious scene of confusion."[1]

In a letter to Sir John Jervis, April 12th, Sir Horatio Nelson submitted a plan he had in his mind in regard to Teneriffe, but the subject passed without any thing being done. Intelligence, however, having been received in July, that a Spanish ship (El Principe D'Asturias), most richly laden from Manilla to Cadiz, was at Santa Cruz, the original design of Nelson was revived, and determined to be acted upon. It, however, was not carried out in the way he intended, inasmuch as there was wanting the assistance of the land force. The departure from the plan originally proposed tended probably to its want of success.

Nelson's letter[2] to Sir John Jervis on this subject, is so important, and at the same time so characteristic of the man, that it must not be omitted:—

"April 12th, 1797.

"My dear Sir,

"Troubridge talked to me last night about the Viceroy at Teneriffe. Since I first believed it was possible that his Excellency might have gone there, I have endeavoured to make

[1] Tucker's Life of the Earl of St. Vincent, Vol. i. p. 418.

[2] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 7.

myself master of the situation, and means of approach by sea and land. I shall begin by sea.

"The Spanish ships generally moor with two cables to the sea, and four cables from their stern to the shore; therefore, although we might get to be masters of them, should the wind not come off the shore, it does not appear certain we should succeed so completely as we might wish. As to any opposition, except from natural impediments, I should not think it would avail. I do not reckon myself equal to Blake;[1] but if I recollect right, he was more obliged to the wind coming off the land, than to any exertions of his own: fortune favoured the gallant attempt, and may do so again. But it becomes my duty to state all the difficulties, as you have done me the honour to desire me to enter on the subject.

"The approach by sea to the anchoring place is under very high land, passing three valleys; therefore the wind is either in from the sea, or squally, with calms from the mountains. Sometimes in night a ship may get in with the land-wind and moderate weather. So much for the sea attack, which, if you approve, I am ready and willing to risk it, or to carry into execution. But now comes my plan, which would not fail of success, would immortalize the undertakers, ruin Spain, and has every prospect of raising our country to a higher pitch of wealth than she ever yet attained: but here soldiers must be consulted, and I know from experience, excepting General O'Hara, they have not the same boldness in undertaking a political measure that we have; we look to the benefit of our country, and risk our own fame every day to serve her: a soldier obeys his orders, and no more. By saying soldiers should be consulted, you will guess I mean the army of 3700 men from Elba, with cannon, mortars, and every implement now embarked; they would do the business in three days, probably much less. I will undertake, with a very small squadron, to do the naval part. The shore, although not very easy of access, yet is so steep that the transports may run in and land the army in one

[1] This is in allusion to the famous Admiral Blake's attack upon the Spanish Fleet in 1657, when the whole of the fleet were burnt, except two vessels which sunk. The wind veering to the south-west, the Admiral got safe out of port, losing in this exploit only forty-eight men killed, and 120 wounded. (See Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. ii. p. 57.)

day. The water is conveyed to the town in wooden troughs: this supply cut off, would probably induce a very speedy surrender: good terms for the town, private property secured to the islanders, and only the delivery of public stores and foreign merchandise demanded, with threats of utter destruction if one gun is fired. In short, the business could not miscarry.

"Now it comes for me to discover what might induce General De Burgh to act in this business. All the risk and responsibility must rest with you. A fair representation should also be made by you of the great national advantages that would arise to our country, and of the ruin that our success would occasion to Spain. Your opinion besides should be stated, of the superior advantages a fortnight thus employed would be of to the army, to what they could do in Portugal; and that of the six or seven millions sterling, the army should have one half. If this sum were thrown into circulation in England, what might not be done? It would ensure an honourable peace, with innumerable other blessings. It has long occupied my thoughts. Should General De Burgh not choose to act, after having all these blessings for our country stated to him, which are almost put into our hands, we must look to General O'Hara. The Royals, about 600, are in the fleet, with artillery sufficient for the purpose. You have the power of stopping the store ships; 1000 men would still insure the business, for Teneriffe never was besieged, therefore the hills that cover the town are not fortified to resist any attempt of taking them by storm; the rest must follow—a fleet of ships, and money to reward the victors. But I know with you, and I can lay my hand on my heart, and say the same,—It is the honour and prosperity of our country that we wish to extend.

"I am, &c.,

"HORATIO NELSON."

On the 15th Nelson sailed for Teneriffe. The attempt against Santa Cruz was intended for the 21st, but the ships were discovered before a landing could be effected. It was therefore postponed to the 24th, and in his letter to Sir John Jervis of this date, he says, "This night I, humble as I am, command the whole, destined to land under the batteries of

the town, and to-morrow my head will probably be crowned with either laurel or cypress."[1] In this attack he received the wound which deprived him of his right arm, and it is remarkable that in his official dispatch he does not make mention of the loss he had personally sustained. It was a grape-shot through the elbow, as he was drawing out his sword, and stepping out of the boat. His step-son, Josiah Nisbet, was with him, and nobly and affectionately tended him, laid him in the bottom of the boat, bound up the shattered limb, in which he was assisted by Lovel,[2] one of the Admiral's bargemen, who tore his shirt into shreds, and made of it a sling for the wounded arm. The boat was then got afloat (for it had grounded from the falling of the tide), and Josiah Nisbet took one of the oars. The voice of his step-son giving orders roused Nelson, whose faintness was subsiding, and he desired to be lifted up to look a little about him. The scene of destruction and the tempestuous sea (it is said) were sublimely dreadful, a painful uncertainty prevailed respecting the fate of his brave companions; when, on a sudden, a general shriek from the crew of the Fox, which had sunk from a shot she had received under water, made the Admiral forget his own weak and painful state. Many were rescued from a watery grave by Nelson himself, whose humane exertions on this occasion added considerably to the agony and danger of his wound. Ninety-seven men, including Lieutenant Gibson, were lost, and eighty-three were saved. The first ship which the boat could reach happened to be the Seahorse; but nothing could induce the Admiral to go on board, though he was assured that it might be at the risk of his life, if they attempted to row to another ship: "Then I will die," he exclaimed, "for I would rather suffer death than alarm Mrs. Fremantle by her seeing me in this state, and when I can give her no tidings whatever of her husband." They accordingly proceeded without further delay for the Theseus; when, notwithstanding the increased pain and weakness which he experienced, he peremptorily refused all assistance in getting on board: "Let me alone, I have yet my legs left, and one arm. Tell the surgeon to make haste

[1] Nelson Papers. Dispatches and Letters, Vol. ii. p. 421.

[2] This noble fellow is now a pensioner in Greenwich Hospital.

and get his instruments. I know I must lose my right arm, so the sooner it's off the better."[1] In the Sketch of his Life he simply says, "Having lost my right arm, for this loss and my former services his Majesty was pleased to settle £800 a year; and by some unlucky mismanagement of it, I was obliged to go to England; and it was the 13th of December, before the surgeons pronounced me fit for service." Lord Collingwood states that Nelson was giving orders almost immediately after the amputation, and three weeks after exerting himself most imprudently. Captain Troubridge succeeded in making favourable terms with the Governor of the Canary Islands, he and his party marching with the British colours flying to the mole, where they embarked in such of our boats as were not stove, the Spaniards finding others to carry them off to the ships.

Lord Collingwood wrote to a relation an account of the Teneriffe expedition, and states that Captain Troubridge, upon landing, retired to a convent, where he collected his forces, without ammunition, except what they took from the prisoners they had made, and from this convent he had the boldness to demand the surrender of the citadel, and to threaten the town with ruin. In the presence of priests (he says) they were employed in preparing torches, fire-balls, and all the necessary apparatus for conflagration; and they in terror fled to the Governor to entreat him to grant to those mad Englishmen any terms by which they might get rid of them. The Governor being a worthy, sensible man, full of admiration even at the extravagance of the English seamen, and dreading perhaps the effects of their despair, made propositions to them of so much kindness, that they were not to be rejected. The Spaniards found boats to embark them all

[1] Hoste, in a letter to his father, after the attack on Santa Cruz, describing that affair, says, "At two, Admiral Nelson returned on board, being dreadfully wounded in the right arm with a grape-shot. I leave you to judge of my situation when I beheld our boat approach with him, who, I may say, has been a second father to me, his right arm dangling by his side, while with the other he helped himself to jump up the ship's side; and with a spirit that astonished every one, told the surgeon to get his instruments ready, for he knew he must lose his arm, and that the sooner it was off the better. He underwent the amputation with the same firmness and courage that have always marked his character, and I am happy to say is now in a fair way of recovery." (See Memoirs and Letters of Sir Wm. Hoste, Vol. i. p. 74.)

in their ships again; and before they parted, gave to each man a loaf and a pint of wine, for the English boats were all dashed to pieces in landing, and the provisions lost in the sea.[1]

It is generally supposed that the expedition failed in consequence of so few boats hitting the mole with the Rear-Admiral, and the loss of the scaling implements. Captain Troubridge, it must also be recollected, was unable to storm the citadel before the approach of the Spanish troops; and the early period at which Nelson was shot in the arm, must have necessarily led to its complete failure. Captain Brenton has made some judicious remarks on this unfortunate affair. He says, "Of all the places which ever came under our inspection, none we conceive is more invulnerable to attack, or more easily defended, than Teneriffe. The island, like most of its neighbours, is a volcanic production, consisting of mountains, ravines, rocks, and precipices. The bay of Santa Cruz affords no shelter for shipping; the shore is nearly a right line, and the bank so steep that no anchorage can be found beyond the distance of half a mile, and that in forty-five fathoms water; the beach, from north to south, is one continued series of broken masses of loose rock, and round smooth stones, either rendered so by friction, or slipping from sea-weed; on this a perpetual surf breaks, rendering the landing at all times difficult, except at the mole or pier of Santa Cruz. To these obstacles there is another, which Nelson experienced in its fullest force. Teneriffe, like all other mountainous countries, is liable to calms, sudden squalls, and violent gusts of wind, which, rushing down the ravines, frequently take the ship's topmasts over the side without a moment's warning."[2]

The squadron appointed to this daring expedition consisted of—

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Theseus	74 . . .	Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B. Captain R. W. Miller.
Culloden	74 . . .	Captain T. Troubridge.

[1] See Collingwood's Memoirs and Correspondence, Vol. i. p. 80.

[2] Naval History of Great Britain, Vol. ii. p. 234.—See also Glass's History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands, Lond. 1764, 4to.

Zealous	74 . . .	Captain Samuel Hood.
Leander	50 . . .	Captain T. B. Thompson.
Seahorse	38 . . .	Captain J. F. Fremantle.
Emerald	36 . . .	Captain J. Waller.
Terpsichore	32 . . .	Captain Richard Bowen.
Fox Cutter . . .	12 . . .	Lieutenant J. Gibson.

On the 27th, Nelson wrote his first letter with his left hand to Sir John Jervis, in which he despondingly says:—"I am become a burthen to my friends, and useless to my country; but by my letter, wrote the 24th, you will perceive my anxiety for the promotion of my son-in-law, Josiah Nisbet. When I leave your command, I become dead to the world; I go hence, and am no more seen. If from poor Bowen's[1] loss, you

[1] Captain Richard Bowen was a native of Devonshire, born at Ilfracombe, in 1761. At the age of thirteen having manifested a great predilection for the sea, he sailed with his father, who commanded a ship in the merchant service. He also accompanied his brother, Captain James Bowen (afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Transport Board), then commanding a ship engaged in the Canada and Jamaica trade. At Jamaica, Mr. Richard Bowen was in 1778 made acquainted with the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and France, and he volunteered into the navy, under the protection of Captain, afterwards Admiral Caldwell, then in command of the Emerald frigate in that station. He returned to England in the following year, and was appointed to the Hannibal, 50 guns; but Captain Calder needing assistance in the Lightning fire-ship, Bowen was transferred over to him. His conduct gained the approbation of his Commander, who recommended him to the notice of Captain Jervis (afterwards the Earl of St. Vincent), and he was received on board the Foudroyant. In 1781, in Vice-Admiral Darby's squadron, and in 1782, under Admiral Barington's command, he exerted himself so as to gain their regard and esteem, having displayed much bravery and ability in the encounters which at that time occurred. He afterwards served in the West Indies, under the flag of Sir Richard Hughes. In the course of three years on this station, he was thrice nominated a Lieutenant, and each time disappointed in confirmation of them, so that he returned to England only a Junior Lieutenant of the flag-ship, and then passed his examination at the Navy Office. He was in 1787 doomed to continued disappointment, not being able to obtain his commission as Lieutenant from the Admiralty; yet his zeal in the service was unabated, and he went to the West Indies in a packet under the advice of Captain Jervis, who recommended him to Commodore Parker, the commander on the Leeward Island station. Here he obtained an appointment to the Jupiter, but was superseded by the arrival of Lord W. Beauclerk. Again deprived of service, he accepted the command of a Government brig, and was occupied in cruising against smugglers till the middle of 1789.

In 1790, his friend, Sir John Jervis, made him his Flag-Lieutenant on board the Prince, he being one of twenty young officers promoted by the Admiraltyin consideration of former disappointments. Bowen highly merited this promotion, for he had assiduously devoted himself to the study of mathematics and navigation, and was both theoretically and practically a good seaman. In 1791 he sailed

think it proper to oblige me, I rest confident you will do it; the boy is under obligations to me, but he repaid me by

for New South Wales, whence he was sent to Bengal, landing in his way Lieutenant-Governor King and his family at Norfolk Island. He passed a route which had not been made by any one previously. Steering east, he passed New Caledonia, the Isle of Pines, and Terra Arsacides. To shorten the distance he went through an unexplored passage, between Borneo and Paraguay, into the China Sea, thence through the Straits of Malacca, and so to Bengal, where he arrived in 1792. He returned with a cargo of rice, &c. on the 19th of June. After relieving Norfolk Island, he quitted New Holland, with Governor Phillip on board, and arrived at Spithead, May 10th, 1793, having in little more than two years made two voyages, one of which was nearly round the world in a common transport. For this remarkable service he received the thanks of the Navy Board and the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

He arrived in England when hostilities had broken out with France; and Sir John Jervis, having command of the expedition against the French settlements, Lieutenant Bowen accompanied him as Fourth Lieutenant of the Boyne, in which he displayed his usual gallantry and talent, commanding the gun-boats in the attack on Martinique, and particularly by boarding the Bien Venu, a large French frigate. His success in this daring attempt induced Sir John Jervis (as expressed in his Dispatch), and the General, "to attempt the port and town of Port Royal by assault." Success followed, and the place was afterwards called Prince Edward, after his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, who served as Major-General at the siege, and greatly distinguished himself on the occasion. In 1794 Bowen was raised to the rank of Commander, and appointed to the Zebra, afterwards to the Veteran, and then to the Terpsichore, a frigate of 32 guns, in which he went to America; and learning that Sir Charles Knowles was blocked up in the Chesapeake, he pushed for his relief, and successfully effected his object. He was actively engaged at the evacuation of Guadaloupe, in which, according to the dispatches, his conduct "was above all praise;" but in this arduous duty he was severely wounded in the cheek, and to avoid any bad effects likely to arise in that climate, which might prevent his recovery, he was sent to England. Upon regaining his health he was actively employed in the North Sea, and in 1795, with Sir John Jervis in the Mediterranean Fleet, where he was very useful in protecting trade, and affording supplies to Gibraltar. When dispatched on this service, Sir John Jervis gave him an introduction to General O'Hara, in which he says, "Captain Bowen, who is a child of my own, is selected to command the small naval force at Gibraltar; and you will find in him the most inexhaustible spirit of enterprise, and skilful seamanship, that can be comprised in any human character."[1] He was engaged in a most spirited contest with a Spanish frigate, the Mahonesa, on the 13th October, 1796, which he captured, and the merchants at Lloyd's voted him a piece of plate for his intrepidity. He was engaged in other gallant exploits, and was with Sir Horatio Nelson at the bombardment of Cadiz, and ultimately at the unfortunate attack on Santa Cruz. He effected a landing at the mole, stormed the battery, spiked the guns, and in his progress to the town received several wounds, which proved

[1] Clarke and McArthur's Life of Nelson.

bringing me from the mole of Santa Cruz. I hope you will be able to give me a frigate to convey the remains of my carcase to England."[1] Nelson joined the Admiral on the 16th of August, and went on board the Ville de Paris to pay his respects to the Commander-in-chief. "A left-handed Admiral (he says) will never again be considered as useful, therefore the sooner I get to a very humble cottage the better, and make room for a better man to serve the State."

From a letter addressed to Captain Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Bart.,[2] Comptroller of the Navy, it appears that Nelson despaired of success in the second attack upon Teneriffe; but his pride suffered from the failure of the first; and

mortal, from a discharge of grape-shot with which the enemy assailed them. Thus fell the gallant Bowen. His body was committed to the deep with all the honours of war on the 27th July. "The dark wave rolls over the remains of the hero; the tears of his friends and of his shipmates embalm his memory; and the fame of his gallant actions shall endure when the marble shall have mouldered into dust!"—*Naval Chronicle*, Vol. xxiii.

[1] Earl St. Vincent answered Nelson on the 16th of August:—"Your son-in-law is Captain of the Dolphin, hospital ship, and all other wishes you may favour me with shall be fulfilled, as far as is consistent with what I owe to some valuable officers in the Ville de Paris. We expect to hear of the preliminaries of peace being agreed on every hour. I have betted £100. that they were settled on or before the 12th, and that the Definitive Treaty is signed before that day month. Give my love to Mrs. Fremantle. I will salute her, and bow to your stump to-morrow morning, if you will give me leave."—*Nelson Papers*. Captain Fremantle was also wounded in the arm in the attack.

[2] Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Bart., F.R.S., so named after his great uncle and godfather, the Rev. Dr. Andrew Snape, one of Queen Anne's Chaplains, and Provost of King's College, Cambridge. He was born at Greenwich in December, 1738, entered the navy in 1753, made Lieutenant in 1759, and distinguished himself in the battle between Hawke and Conflans in the same year. In 1770 he was made Post Captain, and appointed Flag Captain to Earl Howe, and received the honour of Knighthood in 1778 for his services during the American war, principally in the Arethusa frigate, of which he had the command. He took part in the expedition against New York; was appointed Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-chief of Nova Scotia, and Resident Commissioner of the Navy at Halifax, which he held until the peace in 1783, when he was on December 10th created a Baronet. He held a command in the Medway as Commodore and Commander-in-chief, from 1785 to 1788, and was made Deputy-Comptroller of the Navy in February, 1794. In the month of August following, he succeeded Sir Henry Martin as Comptroller, which appointment he held until his retirement from public life, in 1806, when he obtained a pension of £1500. *per annum*. He was also one of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House. He died September 12th, 1828.

although he did not expect to return, he felt the honour of his country called for the effort, and that he should be the commander of it.

On the 20th of August, he struck his flag in the Theseus, hoisted it in the Seahorse, and proceeded to England. He arrived at Spithead on the 1st of September, struck his flag, and went to Bath.

Two days preceding he wrote to his uncle,[1] "As I can write but slowly, I am forced to begin my letter a great way from Portsmouth, where, please God, I am bound. I have ever been a trouble to you, and am likely so to continue, as I have now to request you will have the goodness to ask the Collector of the Customs at Portsmouth to take care of my wine, and such things as I may place under his care, till I can find a hut to put my mutilated carcase in." To His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, he apologizes for not having written a letter since his arrival, and assigns as its cause, "the not being now a ready writer," and he characteristically adds, "I feel confident of your sorrow for my accident; but I assure your Royal Highness, that not a scrap of that ardour with which I have hitherto served our King has been shot away." Coleridge says, Nelson used to say, in allusion to the loss of his arm, "Who shall dare tell me that I want an arm, when I have three right arms,—this, putting forward his own, and Ball, and Troubridge." The Duke of Clarence immediately acknowledged the receipt of Nelson's letter, and wrote from Dover, Sept. 7, 1797: "I congratulate you with all my heart upon your safe arrival at last, covered with honour and glory. As an old friend, I cannot but lament the very severe loss you have sustained in losing your right arm. I hope your health is good, and that you are gone, as I am informed, more for the purpose of joining Lady Nelson, than for the re-establishment of a constitution in which I am doubly interested, both as a friend, and as one who is anxious to see the country have restored to her a brave and excellent officer. Excuse my anxiety, as it proceeds from friendship and admiration of your public character, and I must request you will allow Lady Nelson to write to me how you are, and

[1] Athenæum for 1834, p. 808.

when you will be able to be in London, that I may be one of the first to shake you by the hand."[1]

In October, it was proposed to grant a pension of £1000. *per annum*, to Nelson for his services, and it being customary on such an occasion to present a Memorial detailing the claims for such a distinction, he drew up one, from which it appeared that he had during the war been engaged in four actions with the fleets of the enemy; viz. on the 13th and 14th of March, 1795; on the 13th of July, 1795; and on the 14th of February, 1797; in three actions with frigates; in six engagements against batteries; in ten actions in boats employed in cutting out of harbours, in destroying vessels, and in taking three towns. He had also served on shore with the army four months, and commanded the batteries at the sieges of Bastia and Calvi. During the war he had also assisted at the capture of seven sail of the line, six frigates, four corvettes, and eleven privateers of different sizes, and taken and destroyed nearly fifty sail of merchant vessels; he had actually been engaged against the enemy upwards of 120 times. In this service, he had lost his right eye, and his right arm, and been severely wounded and bruised in his body.

For Nelson's gallant conduct in the battle off Cape St. Vincent on the 14th of February, he had been named for the honour of Knight Companion of the Bath, with the insignia of which, however, he had not been invested when he returned to England. The Earl of St. Vincent had received the instructions of the Duke of Portland, then Secretary of State for the Home Department, to confer this honour upon him in the King's name; but his absence from the fleet at the time of its arrival, and his subsequent condition from the affair at Teneriffe, had prevented this ceremony from taking place. Now in England, the investiture was fixed for the 27th of September, and Nelson came up to London from Bath to attend the King at St. James's Palace.

In December, he also attended at the Guildhall to receive the Freedom of the City of London, which had been voted to him in a gold box of the value of one hundred guineas. On this occasion, he was addressed by the celebrated John

1 Autograph in the Nelson Papers.

Wilkes, then Chamberlain, and Sir Horatio Nelson replied to his address in the following appropriate manner:—

"Sir, nothing could be more gratifying to me (as it must be to every sea officer) than receiving the high honour this day conferred upon me, in becoming a Freeman of the great city of London; and I beg you to believe, and to assure my fellow-citizens, that my hand and head shall ever be exerted, with all my heart, in defence of my King, the laws, and the just liberties of my country, in which are included everything which can be beneficial to the capital of the empire. I beg leave, Sir, to return you my sincere thanks for the very flattering expressions you have honoured me with on this occasion."

The amputation of his arm was attended with much subsequent distress, as the ligature which had been affixed to the humeral artery also included a branch of nerve which occasioned the ligature to be a long time in effecting the ulcerative process by which it becomes disengaged. Nelson was attended in London in Sept. 1797 by Dr. Moseley, Mr. Cruikshank, and Mr. Thomas, Mr. Cruikshank's son-in-law, from whom I had this information. The spasmodic twitchings and pains to which he was liable in consequence of this accident subjected him frequently to the most intense suffering. At one time it was even in contemplation to cut down upon the ligature, but it fortunately separated, and he was instantly relieved without an operation. The wound occasioned by the thread healed, and Nelson's piety and thankfulness for his recovery was manifested by his transmitting to the Rev. Mr. Greville, of St. George's, Hanover Square, the following form of thanksgiving, which was read during the performance of Divine service: "An officer desires to return thanks to Almighty God for his perfect recovery from a severe wound, and also for the many mercies bestowed on him. Dec. 8th, 1797, for next Sunday."

His arm, which had thus proved so troublesome and so painful, was now pronounced sufficiently recovered to permit of his again going to sea, and on the 19th of December he was appointed to the Vanguard, 74 guns. Previously, however, to his departure, he attended at St. Paul's Cathedral, on

occasion of a General Thanksgiving for the many signal and important victories obtained by his Majesty's Navy during the war. At this service the King and Royal Family were present, and seats were reserved for the flag officers who had commanded, or who had been present in a general action in which any ships of the enemy's line had been captured; Nelson was attended on this occasion by Captains Berry and Noble.

Nelson carried his love of order and accuracy into all the concerns of life, private as well as public. When he arrived at Spithead to hoist his flag on board the Vanguard, he wrote the following to his wife, whom he had left at Bath :—

"My dear Fanny,

"At half-past five I arrived here, and what you will be surprised to hear, with great difficulty found *one* pair of raw silk stockings. I suppose in some place or other I shall find my linen, for there is scarcely any in this trunk. The wind is fair, and on Saturday morning I go on board, and with the lark on Sunday I am off. All here are full of inquiries about you. No letter from Mr. Cooper—it is shameful. Kind love to my father and Kitty, and ever believe me, your most affectionate

"HORATIO NELSON.

"March 29th, Wind N.E."

"March 31st, 1798.

"My dearest Fanny,

"I go on board at two o'clock, and, if possible, I shall sail early to-morrow morning. I have not the scrap of a pen from Mr. Cooper. More than £45. I have laid out for his son. Mr. Marsh has given Allen[1] no account of his money which you gave him to buy into the Funds—Get it.

"God bless you all, and ever believe me,

"Your most affectionate,

"HORATIO NELSON.

"I have opened the letter to say thanks for your letter.

[1] Allen, here mentioned, was well known as Tom Allen, a native of Burnham Thorpe, the birth-place of Nelson, and early in life in the service of the Nelson family. At his own desire he accompanied his young master to sea, when ap-

In due time send me Marsh and Creed's account. I have no wishes but for a speedy peace.

"I have wrote Mr. Cooper to send you an order for £45."

At St. Helens, three days before his departure with a convoy to Lisbon, he thus again addressed Lady Nelson:—

"St. Helen's, April 7th, 8 P.M.
"April 8: Noon, Wind S. W.

"Many thanks, my dearest Fanny, for your two letters. From my heart, I wish it was peace, then not a moment would I lose in getting to my cottage. I wrote you this morning about my things. I have bought a *new* stock buckle at double the price of the old one, which, eighteen years past, cost 1*s.* 6*d.*, just one penny per year, and it was certainly now worth 1*s.* Cooke and Holford, No. 7, Beaufort Buildings, Strand, wrote me they have £108. 0*s.* 8*d.* for me, which I have desired them to send you, but I believe it is not payable before May; but,

pointed to the Agamemnon. He was a trusty servant, and looked upon almost as an absolutely necessary appendage to the hero. He had the charge of all his property on board, and always slept near his master, watching over him in his various illnesses, and when suffering from his wounds, with great tenderness and fidelity. He was with Nelson at the Battle of the Nile, and other glorious exploits, evincing great personal courage and devotion to his master. He was not, however, at the Battle of Trafalgar, his services being needed on shore after the departure of his master, and he was unable afterwards to reach the Victory, a circumstance which greatly depressed him for the remainder of his life. After the death of Lord Nelson, Tom Allen returned to Burnham Thorpe, and entered into the service of Captain Sir Wm. Bolton, of Coltesey, Norwich, where he remained until the death of that officer. He was then, to employ a nautical expression, *turned adrift*, and after a short time, with advanced years, had nothing but the workhouse to look forward to, being unable to support his wife and family. To the truly benevolent exertions of the late Page Nicol Scott, Esq. Surgeon at Norwich, Assistant-Surgeon in the Navy in 1805, Tom Allen was rescued from this degradation. This gentleman made application to Sir Thomas Hardy, Sir Wm. Beatty, and others, and obtained for him admission into Greenwich Hospital as a Pensioner in 1831. When Sir Thos. Hardy was appointed Governor of this noble establishment in 1837, Tom was raised to the office of Pewterer to the Hospital, which gave him a salary of £65. *per annum*, with apartments, in which he, his wife, and grand-daughter, resided until his death, which took place, after a few hours illness, in November, 1838. Sir Thomas Hardy erected a tablet to his memory in the hospital cemetery, and as his widow was not entitled to a pension by the situation which Tom had held, Mr. Scott again generously came forward, and with the aid of Lieutenant Rivers, and others, made a subscription which placed the widow in comparative ease and comfort for the remainder of her life.

if you do not get it sooner, inquire when you go to London. Governor Phillip is a good man, remember me kindly to him and her. As to those people swearing off, if they are *any one* indicted, they will at least stand in the Pillory. Mr. Pitt will get money whilst it is to be had, and for this world I would not take a false oath. You will take care and secure a few hundred pounds, for if England to herself is not true, our funded debt must fall, and with it who can tell *what*. May God Almighty protect you is the most sincere prayer of your affectionate husband,

"HORATIO NELSON.

"Kind love to my father, Kitty my sister, and Mr. Matcham. Compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Sherston."

Nelson departed to join the fleet under the command of the Earl of St. Vincent, with the sincere good wishes of many of his old comrades and companions in arms. No one felt more anxiety and goodwill towards him than Captain Lloyd, to whose friendship reference has already been made (page 8). The following letter arrived at Portsmouth nine days after he had departed, but was forwarded to him from Bath by Lady Nelson, to whom it was sent:—

"Monday, 9th April, 1798.

"My dear Nelson,

"About an hour after you left me I took to my bed with agonizing pains, and almost sleepless nights ever since. I am now much better, but still in bed, where I have been ever since Tuesday sen'night, and am bolstered up to tell you that among all your friends you have not one more anxious for your success and safety than your faithful and devoted friend,

"THOS. LLOYD.

"I shall take care to give your compliments where you wish, and I shall not be unwatchful of your interest, nor the reputation of your Commander-in-chief.

"I must make my letter short, being unable to lengthen it —God bless you, my good fellow. My compliments to all in the Tagus, if they are allowed to remain there."

On the 1st of April, 1798, Nelson sailed in the Vanguard from Portsmouth, and on the 23rd arrived at Lisbon with a convoy. On the 30th, he joined Earl St. Vincent in the fleet off Cadiz. The Earl was delighted at his arrival, and determined immediately upon sending him off with a squadron to observe the preparations making by the French, having received information that a large armament was preparing at Toulon.

Earl St. Vincent wrote to Lady Hamilton on the 22nd of May as follows :—

"My dear Madam,

"I feel myself highly honoured and flattered by your Ladyship's charming letter of the 15th of April. The picture you have drawn of the lovely Queen of Naples and the Royal Family, would rouse the indignation of the most unfeeling of the creation at the infernal designs of those devils, who, for the scourge of the human race, govern France. I am bound by my oath of chivalry to protect all who are persecuted and distressed, and I would fly to the succour of their Sicilian Majesties, was I not positively forbid to quit my post before Cadiz. I am happy, however, to have a knight of superior prowess in my train, who is charged with this enterprise, at the head of as gallant a band as ever drew sword or trailed pike.

"The design Miss Knight[1] is at work upon will hand my name down to the latest posterity, coupled as it is with your fair form: pray say everything kind to her and the venerable lady mother, and be assured, my dear Madam, that I will avail myself of the first opportunity which places us within reach of each other, to pay you my homage in person; at this distance I can only say, that no one of your acquaintance respects and admires your Ladyship more truly, than

"Your true knight, and devoted humble servant,

"St. Vincent."[2]

"Ville de Paris, at Anchor before Cadiz, 22nd May, 1798."

[1] Daughter of Admiral Knight, of whom mention is frequently made in subsequent letters.

[2] This letter is superscribed by Lady Hamilton, "June 10th, 1798, received by Captain Bowen, Naples, from dear respectable Earl St. Vincent."

And to Sir William Hamilton on the same day:

"Ville de Paris, before Cadiz,
"May 22nd, 1798.

"I must decline entering into the wretched policy which has placed the Two Sicilies in the situation they now are, with respect to the system of the insolvent and overbearing Republic. I have a powerful squadron ready to fly to the assistance of Naples the moment I receive a reinforcement from the west of Ireland, which is on its passage hither, and I hourly look for its appearance with the utmost degree of anxiety and impatience. Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson will command this force, which is composed of the *élite* of the navy of England. Sir G. Byng (Lord Torrington) did not make a better choice when he was charged by George the First with a very important mission to the same coasts, and I have no doubt of the event being equally propitious to his Majesty's arms. I am prohibited by my orders from quitting this position, which the mistaken policy of Spain has made necessary. Have the goodness to lay me at the feet of their Majesties, and assure them of my most profound respect, and that I will exert every nerve for their preservation.

"ST. VINCENT."

The instructions given to Sir Horatio Nelson, by the Earl of St. Vincent, on this occasion, are too important to be omitted:—

"By the Earl of St. Vincent, Admiral of the Blue, Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

[Most Secret.]

"In pursuance of orders from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to employ a squadron of His Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, under the command of a discreet officer (copies of which are enclosed, and other papers necessary for your guidance), and in conformity thereto, I do hereby authorize and require you, on being joined by the ships named in the margin, to take them and their Captains under your command, in addition to those already with you; and to

proceed with them in quest of the armament preparing by the enemy at Toulon and Genoa; the object whereof appears to be, either an attack upon Naples, or Sicily; the conveyance of an army to some part of the coast of Spain, for the purpose of marching towards Portugal, or to pass through the Straits, with a view of proceeding to Ireland. On falling in with the said armament, or any part thereof, you are to use your utmost endeavours to *take, sink, burn, and destroy* it. Should it appear to you, from good authority, on your arrival up the Mediterranean, that the enemy's force, capable of being sent to sea, is inferior to what is reported by intelligence herewith transmitted, you are, in this case, to direct such ships to rejoin me as may not be absolutely necessary to ensure your superiority, the moment you shall find yourself in a situation so to do.

"On the subject of supplies, I enclose also a copy of their Lordships' letter to me, and do require you strictly to comply with the spirit of it; by considering and treating as hostile any ports within the Mediterranean (those of Sardinia excepted), when provisions, or other articles you may be in want of, and which they may be enabled to furnish, shall be refused,—and you are to treat in like manner, and capture the ships and vessels of powers, or states, adhering to his Majesty's enemies; or, under other circumstances enumerated in the said order, determining to the best of your judgment upon the several cases under that head, that may occur during your command. You are to remain upon this service so long as the provisions of your squadron will last, or as long as you may be enabled to obtain supplies from any of the ports in the Mediterranean; and when, from the want of provisions, or any other circumstance, you shall be no longer able to remain within the Straits, or in the event of the enemy's armament escaping to the westward (which you will take especial care to prevent), you are to lose no time in rejoining me, wherever I may be.

"ST. VINCENT.

"Given on board the Ville de Paris,
off Cadiz, May 21, 1798.
"To Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B.
Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

"By command of the Admiral, G. PURVIS, *Secretary.*

"Additional Instructions for Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson.

"From the tenor of the instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, which you will receive herewith, it appears their Lordships expect a favourable neutrality from Tuscany and the Two Sicilies: in any event you are to extract supplies, of whatever you may be in want of, from the territories of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the King of the Two Sicilies, the Ottoman territory, Malta, and the ci-devant Venetian dominions, now belonging to the Emperor of Germany. You will also perceive, by an extract of a letter, from Mr. Master, his Majesty's Consul at Algiers, that the Dey is extremely well disposed towards us. The Bey of Tunis, by the report of Captain Thompson, of his Majesty's ship Leander, is also perfectly neutral and good-humoured. From the Bashaw of Tripoli, I have every reason to believe, that any ships of your squadron that touch there will be received in the most friendly manner.

"In a private letter from Lord Spencer, I am led to believe, that you are perfectly justifiable in pursuing the French squadron to any part of the Mediterranean, Adriatic, Morea, Archipelago, or even into the Black Sea. Should its destination be to any of those parts, thoroughly sensible of your zeal, enterprise, and capacity, at the head of a squadron of ships so well appointed, manned, and commanded, I have the utmost confidence in the success of your operations. I send Mr. Littledale to you as an aid in the victualling branch, Mr. Heatly having been well satisfied with the conduct of the house to which he belongs, at Leghorn. Their former contracts for the supply of the fleet will serve as a guide to you. If a plan I have directed Mr. Heatly to make out, does not arrive in time to go by Captain Troubridge, I will send it by the first good conveyance.

"It is hardly necessary to instruct you to open a correspondence with his Majesty's ministers at every court in Italy, at Vienna, and Constantinople, and the different Consuls on the coasts of the seas you are going to operate in: those of Algiers and Tunis are absent from their posts, and not likely to resume them. You will see the necessity of my being in-

formed of your movements from time to time. A good sparonare[1] or felucca, with faithful people on board (if to be found), will serve for an advice boat, during the summer months: when I have a cutter to spare you shall have her.

"ST. VINCENT.

"Given, &c. May, 21, 1798."

Nelson arrived at Gibraltar on the 4th of May. The Terpsichore captured a corvette, which came out of Toulon on the 17th, and Nelson thereby obtained a confirmation of the very generally believed report that an expedition was preparing to sail from Toulon. On the 24th he wrote to Lady Nelson a letter which has been often printed, and always much admired, as illustrative of Nelson's character. It relates the particulars of a storm, and its awful effects upon his ship in the Gulf of Lyons. "I ought not (says he) to call what has happened to the Vanguard by the cold name of accident: I believe firmly that it was the Almighty's goodness, to check my consummate vanity. I hope it has made me a better officer, as I feel confident it has made me a better man. I kiss with all humility the rod. Figure to yourself a vain man, on Sunday evening at sun-set, walking in his cabin with a squadron about him, who looked up to their chief to lead them to glory, and in whom this chief placed the firmest reliance, that the proudest ships, in equal numbers, belonging to France, would have bowed their flags, and with a very rich prize lying by him. Figure to yourself this proud, conceited man, when the sun rose on Monday morning, his ship dismasted, his fleet dispersed, and himself in such distress, that the meanest frigate out of France would have been a very unwelcome guest. But it has pleased Almighty God to bring us into a safe port, where, although we are refused the rights of humanity, yet the Vanguard will in two days get to sea again, as an English man-of-war." At the time of this visitation, Captain Berry[2] says, "The British squadron was

1 An Italian boat.

2 Sir Edward Berry, Bart., K.C.B., was born April 17th, 1763. He went to sea at an early age, under the protection of Lord Mulgrave, in the Burford, of 70 guns, in which he went to the East Indies in 1779. He obtained his Lieutenant's commission for gallant conduct in boarding a French ship of war; and

not many leagues distant from the French fleet, under Buonaparte, which had on that very day set sail from Toulon." To remedy the disaster, the greatest activity was exercised, and in four days the Vanguard was so equipped that she was actually at sea again, cruising after the enemy on their own coast. Quitting St. Pierre, in Sardinia, where the damage done to the ship was repaired as much as possible, Nelson strongly recommended Mr. Morrison, the carpenter, to Earl St. Vincent, for reward for his extraordinary exertions.

At Toulon he arrived on the 31st of May, and wrote to Earl St. Vincent, "My pride was too great for man; but I trust my friends will think that I bore my chastisement like a man. It has pleased God to assist us with his favours, and here I am again off Toulon."[1] On the 7th of June he was joined by a squadron of ten sail of the line, and the Leander of 50 guns, with whom he proceeded in search of the French fleet.

That Nelson should have been selected to command a

he maintained his character for bravery in Lord Howe's action of the 1st of June, 1794. Sir John Jervis appointed him, in 1796, Lieutenant in the Agamemnon, and he was there introduced to Nelson, with whom he was engaged in the battle off Cape St. Vincent, February 14th, 1797. He was the first to jump into the mizen chains of the San Nicolas; and he also accompanied Nelson into the San Josef, and was present when the sword of the Spanish Admiral was delivered up. For this action he was made Post Captain; and in the following year was as Flag Captain with Nelson in the Vanguard. At the battle of the Nile he caught his Commander when wounded, in his arms, and communicated to him from time to time the progress of the action. He was also most active in preserving the lives of the seamen, upon occasion of the blowing up of L'Orient. He was entrusted to convey the dispatches to the Earl of St. Vincent, in the Leander, Captain T. B. Thompson, and with that gallant officer was made prisoner by Le Généreux. Upon his release from captivity, he returned to England, received the honour of Knighthood, and the freedom of the City of London in a gold box. He then accompanied Nelson in the Foudroyant, and landed him in Sicily for the recovery of his health; and he afterwards succeeded in capturing Le Guillaume Tell, one of the French ships that had escaped from Aboukir. Berry was one of Nelson's great favourites; and in 1805, he was commissioned to the Agamemnon, and joined Nelson in time to participate in the glories off Trafalgar. In 1806 he was created a Baronet. He subsequently served in the Mediterranean, and in 1815 was made K.C.B. In 1819 he was appointed a Colonel of the Marines; and in 1821, Rear-Admiral of the Blue. He died a Rear-Admiral of the Red, Feb. 13, 1831.

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 60.

detachment from the fleet in preference to Sir Wm. Parker,[1] or Sir John Orde,[2] both of whom were his seniors in the service, occasioned much notice, and called forth remonstrances from those officers, which were sent home. Earl St. Vincent did every thing in his power to prevent this being done, and to allay their irritated feelings.[3] It has been since

[1] This officer died a Vice-Admiral, on the 31st of December, 1802. He had served during the whole of the war, and was present in Lord Howe's action of the 1st of June, 1794; and that of the Earl St. Vincent, Feb. 14th, 1797.

[2] Sir John Orde was descended from an ancient family in the north of England, and was born at Norfolk in 1752. He entered the navy in 1766, and served in the Mediterranean station in the Jersey, Captain Wm. Dickson, and afterwards on the Newfoundland and the Jamaica stations. With Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Bart., he went to America, as Second Lieutenant, and afterwards in Lord Howe's flag-ship as First Lieutenant. He was made Post Captain in 1778. In 1780, he assisted in taking Charlestown, and carried home the dispatches. He was then appointed to the Chatham, and went back to America; but upon the recall of Admiral Arbuthnot, he returned to England, and then joined Sir Hyde Parker in the North Sea. In 1783 he was made Governor of Dominica. In 1790, having returned to England, he was created a Baronet; and in the following year was successful in quelling an insurrection at Dominica. Complaints, however, were made of his conduct, and he was ordered home, where an investigation took place before the King and Council. The result is reported to have been satisfactory to his feelings; but he requested to be permitted to resign his government of the island, which was granted, and he was offered active employment in his profession. He was appointed to the Victorious, and then to the Venerable, and joined Lord Howe's fleet. In 1795 he was given the command of the Prince George, 98 guns, and made Rear-Admiral of the White. In 1797 he commanded at Plymouth, in the absence of Sir Richard King, and remained there until the close of the mutiny. He presided over the Court Martial appointed to try the mutineers at the Nore, and then joined Earl St. Vincent in the Tagus. He was ordered to the blockade of Cadiz. The selection of Sir Horatio Nelson in search of the French fleet, occasioned a serious misunderstanding between Sir John Orde and the Earl St. Vincent. The particulars will be seen in the letter of Sir John Orde to Lord Nelson, herein printed. It is sufficient in this notice to observe, that Sir John applied for a Court Martial on the Earl, and it was refused by the Admiralty. Failing in this, he sent a challenge to Earl St. Vincent, but the parties were held to bail, and no duel took place. Sir John Orde was offered to hoist his flag in the Channel Fleet, but this he declined. In 1799, he was promoted to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and in 1801 of the White. In 1802 he published a pamphlet on the subject of his differences with Earl St. Vincent, a copy of which, as will be seen, he sent to Lord Nelson, upon his return to England, after the battle of the Nile. Having obtained the rank of Admiral of the Red, he died Feb. 19, 1824.

[3] Captain Brenton says, that when Nelson was objected to as a junior officer to take the command, Earl St. Vincent replied, that he considered those who were responsible for measures, had a right to *choose their men*.

shewn, that the Earl had little discretion to employ in the matter, for Nelson had been specifically named to him for this service by Earl Spencer, then at the head of the Admiralty; and his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence desired Captain Berry to acquaint Nelson that it was by the King's own orders that he was so appointed. Certainly no officer in the service was so well acquainted with the Mediterranean, or possessed of so many qualifications for the performance of so important a duty.

Thus supported, and so honourably entrusted, Nelson's spirits were at the highest pitch. He was all eagerness to find out the French fleet. He begins by observing:—"The French have got a long start, but (he adds), you may be assured I will fight them the moment I can reach their fleet, be they at anchor, or under sail." He wrote off Elba, June 12th, to Sir William Hamilton:—"I hope we are in good time to save Naples or Sicily from falling into the hands of the enemy. I beg you will assure the King and Queen of Naples, that I will not lose one moment in fighting the French fleet, and that no person can have a more ardent desire of saving them, and of fulfilling the orders of the good and great King, our master."[1] To Earl Spencer, on the 15th, he wrote from off the island of Ponza:—"The last account I had of the French fleet, was from a Tunisian cruiser, who saw them on the 4th off Trapani, in Sicily, steering to the eastward. If they pass Sicily, I shall believe they are going on their scheme of possessing Alexandria, and getting troops to India—a plan concerted by Tippoo Saib, by no means so difficult as might at first view be imagined; but be they bound to the Antipodes, your Lordship may rely that I will not lose a moment in bringing them to action, and endeavour to destroy their transports."

Off Naples he wrote three times to Earl St. Vincent to say, "I have only to assure you I will bring the French fleet to action the moment I can lay my hands on them." Captain Troubridge had been sent to Sir W. Hamilton, and returned, having heard that the enemy had gone towards Malta. Nelson immediately sailed for that place, but finding the French

[1] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 28.

fleet had departed from thence on the 18th, he immediately sailed for Alexandria. From the following letter of the Queen of Naples to Lady Hamilton, Nelson was at Syracuse on the 21st.

"June 29, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"I received your obliging letter with the interesting translation, to which I should wish for a considerable addition soon. I have no news. Buonaparte left Malta on the 19th for the Levant, where they have lost all trace of him. They have left 6 or 8000 men in garrison at Malta, and a frigate, and the vessels of the order. The English squadron passed Syracuse on the 21st at six or seven o'clock in the morning, and was afterwards seen at Capo-passero; that God may bless and accompany them is my sincere wish. Adieu, my dear Lady, my compliments to your dear husband the brave Chevalier. I shall have the pleasure of sending you the news at the earliest moment, and of seeing you, and assuring you of my sincere constant friendship and gratitude."

Arrived, however, off Pharos Tower, Alexandria, Captain Hardy reported that he could gain no intelligence of the enemy's fleet. Thence Nelson sailed over to the coast of Asia, passing close to the southern side of Candia, but found no French fleet. He returned to Sicily and anchored at Syracuse on the 20th July, there obtaining a supply of fresh provisions, &c.[1] On this day he wrote to Lady Nelson, "I have not been able to find the French fleet, to my great mortification, or the event I can scarcely doubt. We have been off Malta, to Alexandria, in Egypt, Syria, into Asia, and are returned here without success: however, no person will say that it has been for want of activity. I yet live in hopes of meeting these fellows; but it would have been my delight to have tried Buonaparte on a wind, for he commands the fleet as well as the army. Glory is my object, and that alone."[2] Nelson attributed his ignorance of the movements of the enemy to the want of frigates which were to have been

[1] For particulars relating to this important matter, see Supplementary Chapter, No. I. "Lady Hamilton."

[2] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. i. p. 71.

with him. It is indeed lamentable to think of the inadequate force with which Nelson was furnished in the Mediterranean squadron opposed to the able generalship of Buonaparte. James[1] has endeavoured "to explain how it happened that, in a sea so comparatively small as the Mediterranean, two hostile fleets, one of which was so strenuously seeking the other, that other too, from its immense numbers, spread over so wide a surface, did not come in mutual contact. On the 24th of May when the reinforcement for Rear-Admiral Nelson quitted Earl St. Vincent off Cadiz, the French fleet was running down the eastern coast of Corsica; and on the 8th of June, when Rear-Admiral Nelson made sail from off Toulon, with a fleet which had only been formed the night before, Admiral Brueys was standing across from Sicily to Malta. The French fleet (part of it the day before) quitted the last named island on the morning of the 19th, singularly enough on the night of the 22nd the two fleets crossed each other's track unperceived. That this should have happened, in a case in which one of the fleets numbered, as that of the French then did, nearly 400 sail, must appear strange; but the surprise will diminish when it is known, that the spot of intersection was about midway between Cape Mesurata and the mouth of the Adriatic, the widest part of the Mediterranean; that the British fleet sailed in close order, and had no frigates to spread as look-outs; and that a constant haze pervaded the atmosphere. Subsequent to the 22nd the French steered east, to make the Goza di Candia; while the British stood south-east, or straight along the African coast. Hence the latter reached its port of destination just two days before the former; and the British fleet, as it quitted the shore on its departure, was actually seen from the Pharos Tower on the morning of the same day, the 30th, towards the evening of which the French fleet made its appearance off the coast of Egypt."

To Lady Hamilton he especially attributed the victualling and watering of the fleet at Syracuse. In Nelson's Letter Book, Lady Hamilton, in whose possession it was for some time, wrote, "The Queen's letter, privately got by me, got him

[1] Naval History of Great Britain, Vol. ii. p. 229.

and his fleet victualled and watered in a few days.—EMMA HAMILTON."

On the 22nd Nelson wrote to Sir William and Lady Hamilton, "Thanks to your exertions, we have victualled and watered: and surely watering at the Fountain of Arethusa, we must have victory. We shall sail with the first breeze, and be assured I will return either crowned with laurel, or covered with cypress."[1]

The particulars of the harbour of Syracuse were not known to any one in the fleet, yet by great management every ship was got in, and water, and all other necessaries obtained. M. de Gravière remarks, that it was the first time that bay had ever received a squadron of 14 sail of the line.

Nelson sailed from Syracuse on the 23rd for the Morea, and the Culloden being sent into the gulf of Coron for intelligence, she returned with a French brig, a prize, and information that the French fleet were steering to the S.E. from Candia a month before. He then made sail for Alexandria, when he discovered the fleet, and on the 1st of August fought the BATTLE OF THE NILE.

[1] Harrison's Life of Nelson, Vol. i. p. 256.

CHAPTER VI.

1798.

THE intensity with which Sir Horatio Nelson had studied every thing in relation to the BATTLE OF THE NILE, and the manner in which he had digested every possible or probable position in which the combatants might chance to be placed, and the opinions he entertained, with regard to the best mode of attack, had been fully laid before all the Captains of the ships composing his fleet (14 in number, 13 of 74 guns, and the Leander of 50); and nothing could exceed the animation of the Admiral and his brave companions when they found their long expected attack about to be realized.

Sir Edward Berry, in his narrative of the battle, says, "The utmost joy seemed to animate every breast on board the squadron at sight of the enemy; and the pleasure which the Admiral himself felt, was perhaps more heightened than that of any other man, as he had now a certainty by which he could regulate his future operations. The Admiral had, and it appeared most justly, the highest opinion of, and placed the firmest reliance on, the valour and conduct of every Captain in his squadron. It had been his practice, during the whole of the cruise, whenever the weather and circumstances would permit, to have his Captains on board the Vanguard, when he would fully develope to them his own ideas of the different and best modes of attack, and such plans as he proposed to execute upon falling in with the enemy, whatever their position or situation might be, by day or by night. There was no possible position in which they could be found, that he did not take into his calculation, and for the most advantageous attack of which he had not digested, and arranged the best possible disposition of the force which he commanded. With the masterly ideas of their Admiral, therefore, on the subject of naval tactics, every one of the Captains of his squadron was most thoroughly acquainted; and upon surveying the situation of the enemy, they could

ascertain with precision what were the ideas and intentions of their Commander, without the aid of any further instructions; by which means signals became almost unnecessary, much time was saved, and the attention of every Captain could almost undistractedly be paid to the conduct of his own particular ship, a circumstance from which, upon this occasion, the advantages to the general service were almost incalculable."

The history of this most celebrated Battle, which gave to Nelson his Peerage, has been ably detailed by the distinguished officer above referred to, Captain of the Admiral's ship, under the title of "An Authentic Narrative of the proceedings of his Majesty's Squadron, under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, from its sailing from Gibraltar to the conclusion of the glorious Battle of the Nile, drawn up from the minutes of an officer of rank in the squadron." The particulars therein related have been so fully detailed, and canvassed in so many different naval histories, biographies, &c. that it would be superfluous here to say any thing on the subject, further than that the battle was fought in Aboukir Bay, where the French fleet was first discovered by the Zealous, Captain Hood; the force of the respective fleets being as follows:—

British Fleet opposed to the French, August 1, 1798.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.	Killed.	Wounded.
1. Culloden	74	Captain Troubridge	*Not in the action.*	
2. Theseus	74	Captain R. W. Miller	5	30
3. Alexander	74	Captain A. J. Ball	14	58
4. Vanguard	74	Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B. Captain Edward Berry	30	75
5. Minotaur	74	Captain T. Louis	23	64
6. Swiftsure	74	Captain B. Hallowell	7	22
7. Audacious	74	Captain D. Gould	1	35
8. Defence	74	Captain John Peyton	4	11
9. Zealous	74	Captain Samuel Hood	1	7
10. Orion	74	Captain Sir James Saumarez	13	29
11. Goliath	74	Captain Thomas Foley	21	41
12. Majestic	74	Captain B. Westcott	50	143
13. Bellerophon	74	Captain H. D. E. Darby	49	148
14. Leander	50	Captain T. B. Thompson	—	14
15. La Mutine	14	Captain T. M. Hardy	—	—
		Total	218	677

French Fleet opposed to the British, August 1, 1798.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.	
1. L'Orient	120	Vice-Admiral Brueys Rear-Admiral Gantheaume Commodore Casa-Bianca	Burnt
2. Le Franklin	80	Rear-Admiral Blanquet Captain M. Gillet	Taken
3. Le Guillaume Tell	80	Rear-Admiral Villeneuve Captain Saulnier	Escaped
4. Le Tonnant	80	Commodore du Petit Thouars	Taken
5. L'Aquilon	74	Commodore H. A. Thevenard	Taken
6. Le Généreux	74	Captain Le Joille	Escaped
7. Le Conquerant	74	Captain Etienne Dalbararde	Taken
8. L'Heureux	74	Captain J. P. Etienne	Taken
9. Le Guerrier	74	Captain J. F. Timothée Trullet, Sen.	Taken
10. Le Mercure	74	Captain Cambon, *acting*[2]	Taken
11. Le Souverain Peuple	74	Captain P. P. Raccord	Taken
12. Le Spartiate	74	Captain M. J. Emerian	Taken
13. Le Timoleon	74	Captain J. F. Timothée Trullet, Jun.	Burnt
14. La Diana	140	Rear-Admiral Decrès Captain E. J. N. Soleil	Escaped
15. La Justice	140	Captain Villeneuve	Escaped
16. L'Artemise	36	Captain P. J. Standelet	Burnt
17. La Serieuse	36	Captain C. J. Martin	Sunk

Brigs, Alerte and Railleur; *Bomb vessels*, Hercule, Salamine, and another. Several *Gun-boats*.

The position of the enemy offered most formidable points of defence, being in compact line of battle, close in with the shore, flanked by many gun-boats, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van. The action was nobly sustained on both sides; it commenced at sunset, which was at 31 minutes past 6, it being completely dark at 7, and terminated at about 6, A.M. the next day, thus occupying little less than twelve hours, the whole hemisphere illuminated by the firing of the ships. At 10 minutes past 9 the French Admiral's ship, L'Orient, 120 guns, was observed to be on fire, and she blew up, forming a most terrific spectacle.

Coleridge, in his Biographical notice of Sir Alexander Ball, contained in The Friend, (Vol. iii.) has made a statement, the truth of which is denied by British officers, and is certainly contrary to the spirit and character of British warfare, namely, that he, Coleridge, was told by Ball, that at the battle of the Nile a combustible preparation had been made;

[1] La Diana is stated by Captain Brenton to be 48 guns, and La Justice 44 guns. James has given them as stated above.

[2] For Commodore Perrée who was appointed to command the gun-boats on the Nile.

but that the use of it was to be reserved for the last emergency. And he goes on to state, that one of the Lieutenants, without Ball's knowledge, threw in the combustible matter, and occasioned the explosion of the Orient, just as he had expected she would have struck to him. This certainly differs from all other statements made on this subject.

The cause of the explosion of L'Orient has never been satisfactorily stated. The French assigned it to have been occasioned by the wadding of our guns, falling into some unused oil jars and paint buckets that had been left upon the deck of the vessel, whose sides had just been painted; whilst others ascribe it to the communication of fire to some of the combustible missiles which are known to have been on board most, if not all, of the French ships. These were of a composition which was able to burn under the water as well as out of it, and this view of the calamity appears to be supported by the statement which has been made as to the inability of the French sailors to extinguish the flames by throwing buckets of water upon the ignited parts. The loss of human life on the occasion was very great; only seventy are said to have escaped destruction, and these principally by the aid of British boats, which were actively employed in this humane exercise. So awful was the blowing up of L'Orient, that the firing on both sides was suspended for ten minutes.

In the Rev. Cooper Willyams's[1] voyage up the Mediterranean, it is said that in a conference held with some French officers and Captain Hallowell, on board the Swiftsure, the British were accused of having unfairly used some combustible missiles at the battle of the Nile, upon which the Captain ordered Mr. Parr, the gunner, to bring up some balls, and to tell where he had obtained them. To the confusion of the Frenchmen he stated them to have been taken from the Spartiate, one of the ships captured on the 1st of August. Experiments were now made with them. One tried was a fire-ball, the composition of which was not known; but as it did not explode, it was thrown into the water, where it continued to burn, pouring forth a black pitchy matter, until the shell in which it was contained was completely emptied.

[1] This gentleman was Chaplain on board the Swiftsure.

Another ball exploded upon being set fire to, and had nigh proved dangerous to those who were around.

The floating portions of the wreck of L'Orient were picked up, and various articles manufactured from them by different officers of the fleet to commemorate the victory. That directed by Captain Benjamin Hallowell was certainly singular. He employed his carpenter on board the Swiftsure, to make a *coffin* from the mainmast, and to use in it the iron as well as the wood belonging to it, and he presented the same to Nelson, accompanied by the following letter:

"Swiftsure, Aug. 1798.

"Sir,

"I have taken the liberty of presenting you a coffin, made from the mainmast of L'Orient; that, when you have finished your military career in this world, you may be buried in one of your trophies: but that that period may be far distant, is the earnest wish of your sincere friend,

"BENJAMIN HALLOWELL."

This letter was received by Nelson in the spirit and feeling with which it had been presented by Hallowell, and he ordered it to be placed upright in his cabin, but at the entreaties of an old servant it was taken below. It was, however, conveyed to England, and was lodged with Peddieson, the upholsterer in Brewer Street, who was desired by Nelson to get the attestation of its identity engraved on the lid, at the same time saying, "I think it highly probable that I may want it on my return."

Prior to the blowing up of L'Orient, Sir Horatio Nelson had been wounded in the forehead by a langridge shot, or a piece of iron, which cut the skin at right angles, and threw it down over his face, so that his sight was obscured by it. He was obliged to be removed from the deck, but upon receiving intelligence of this awful event, although under great suffering, he instantly came upon deck to issue such directions as he thought might tend to the preservation of the lives of the unfortunate sufferers. About seventy Frenchmen were by these means saved.

At the Battle of the Nile ten ships were taken; three destroyed; four escaped. Nelson's piety was well displayed on this occasion. In the midst of all the confusion attendant upon

such a battle, he directed, on the 2nd of August at 2 o'clock, thanksgiving to be offered up to Almighty God for the victory vouchsafed to them. Service was performed on board the Vanguard and other ships, and the seamen and all present were deeply impressed by the solemnity of the occasion. His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, in a letter congratulating Nelson on the action, remarks, "I admire and approve exceedingly your Lordship's having in so public a manner returned Thanks to the Almighty, for his gracious assistance afforded to his Majesty's arms: I have frequently been surprised it has not been practised in our fleets oftener, and I trust every successful Admiral will in future follow your Lordship's good example."[1]

Delighted at the success of the British force, the Arabs and Mamelukes caused an illumination to be made along the coast and in the country, in celebration of the victory. The wounded French, were, by Nelson's orders, and arrangements with the Commandants of Aboukir and Alexandria, taken on shore, and attended to by French surgeons. They also obtained, through Captain Troubridge, a supply of fresh provisions, and other necessary articles.

Nelson is said to have considered his wound mortal, from the severe pain it inflicted, and desired his Chaplain to give his dying remembrance to Lady Nelson, and Captain Berry, who caught him in his arms at the time he was wounded, also received his exclamation, "I am killed—remember me to my wife." When, however, his wound had been dressed, he was requested to remain quiet in the bread-room, where Captain Berry brought to him intelligence of the course of the battle. Nelson, however, could not remain inactive. He ordered his secretary, Mr. Campbell, who had also been wounded, to commence writing to the Admiralty; but this gentleman was so overcome by the sight of blood and the appearance of the Admiral, that he was unequal to the task, and the Chaplain was directed to take his place; the impatience of Nelson, however, became so great, that notwithstanding his condition, he seized the pen and began to write, commencing his account with expressions of devout thankfulness to the Supreme Being.

After witnessing the destruction of L'Orient, he was persuaded to go to bed, but was exceedingly restless, got up, and

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 124.

signed Captain Hardy's commission for the Vanguard, as Captain Berry was to proceed with the dispatches, giving an account of the victory.

M. de la Gravière and other authorities have considered it as remarkable that Nelson should have entered Aboukir Bay at night. It occurred near sun-set, and the French undoubtedly did not expect that he would have accomplished his entry until morning. Here his decision and impetuosity are admitted to have given him great advantages. The authority I have referred to admits that the French Navy never recovered the terrible blow given to its reputation and its power at the Battle of the Nile. "It was this battle (he says) which for two years delivered up the Mediterranean to the power of England; summoned thither the Russian squadrons, left the French army isolated amidst a hostile population; decided the Porte in declaring against them; saved India from French enterprise, and brought France within a hair's breadth of her ruin, by reviving the smouldering flames of war with Austria, and bringing Suwarrow and the Austro-Russians to the French frontiers."[1]

James[2] has given the translation of an intercepted letter stated to be by M. Poussielgue, Comptroller of the expenses of the French army, and Administrator-General of the Finances, in which, referring to the Battle of the Nile, he says: "But the fatal engagement of Aboukir ruined all our hopes; it prevented us from receiving the remainder of the forces which were destined for us; it left the field free for the English to persuade the Porte to declare war against us; it rekindled that which was hardly extinguished with the Emperor of Germany; it opened the Mediterranean to the Russians, and planted them on our frontiers; it occasioned the loss of Italy, and the invaluable possessions in the Adriatic, which we owed to the successful campaigns of Buonaparte; and, finally, it at once rendered abortive all our projects, since it was no longer possible for us to dream of giving the English any uneasiness in India; add to this that the people of Egypt, whom we wished to consider as friends and allies, instantaneously became our enemies; and, entirely surrounded as we were by the Turks, we found ourselves engaged in a most difficult and defensive war,

[1] Plunkett's Last Naval War, Vol. i. p. 224. [2] Vol. ii. p. 264.

without a glimpse of the slightest future advantage to be derived from it."[1]

On all sides letters of congratulation, commendation and eulogy, and the most enthusiastic admiration of Nelson's conduct, and the success of the battle, poured in upon him. In the first place the Captains of the Squadron met on the 3rd of August, and voted a sword to their brave Admiral, to testify their admiration of his skill and intrepidity. They also solicited him to permit his portrait to be taken, and hung up in the room belonging to the Egyptian Club, which became established from that day, to commemorate the battle. Highly flattering were the letters he received from Sir Wm. Hamilton, Sir John Acton, Earl Spencer, the Countess Spencer, the Lord Chancellor Loughborough, the Duke of Clarence, Earl St. Vincent, Earl Howe, Lord Hood, Lady Parker, Admiral Goodall, Captain Collingwood, &c. &c.

Sir Wm. Hamilton says: "The ever memorable Battle of the Nile—a battle, I believe, of the greatest importance that was ever fought, and the expected good consequences of which are incalculable. History, either ancient or modern, does not record an action that does more honour to the heroes that gained the victory, than the late one of the 1st of August. You have now completely made yourself, my dear Nelson, *immortal.* God be praised, and may you live long to enjoy the sweet satisfaction of having added such glory to our country, and most probably put an end to the confusion and misery in which all Europe would soon have been involved. This country feels its immediate good effects; and their Sicilian Majesties, their Ministry, and the nation at large, are truly sensible of it, and loudly acknowledge eternal obligation to your undaunted courage, and steady perseverance. You may well conceive, my dear Sir, how happy Emma and I are, in the reflection that it is *you—Nelson—our bosom friend,* who has done such wondrous good, in having humbled these proud robbers and vain boasters."[2]

The Countess Spencer writes: "Joy, joy, joy to you, brave,

1 As it may be interesting to peruse some of the French accounts of this battle, I have inserted two of these in the Appendix, No. I. That of the Adjutant of Admiral Blanquet is singularly contrasted with the highly imaginative detail of the celebrated M. Denon.

2 Autograph in the Nelson Papers.

gallant, immortalized Nelson! May that great God, whose cause you so valiantly support, protect and bless you to the end of your brilliant career! Such a man surely never was seen. My heart is absolutely bursting with different sensations of joy, of gratitude, of pride, of every emotion that ever warmed the bosom of a British woman, on hearing of her country's glory—and all produced by you, my dear, my good friend."[1]

Collingwood addressed the following to Sir Horatio Nelson on this occasion:—

"Off Cadiz, 1798.

"I cannot, my dear friend, express how great my joy is for the complete and glorious victory you have obtained over the French,—the most decisive, and in its consequences, perhaps the most important to Europe that was ever won; and my heart overflows with thankfulness to the Divine Providence for his protection of you through the great dangers which are ever attendant on services of such eminence. So total an overthrow of their fleet, and the consequent deplorable situation of the army they have in Africa, will, I hope, teach those tyrants in the Directory a lesson of humility, and dispose them to peace and justice, that they may restore to those States which they have ruined, all that can now be saved from the wreck of a subverted government and plundered people. I lament most sincerely the death of Captain Westcott;[2] he was a good officer and a worthy man; but if

1 Copy in the Nelson Papers.

2 Captain Westcott was highly respected by Nelson, and esteemed an excellent officer. He was the son of a baker living at Honiton in Devonshire; and the Naval Chronicle (Vol. xii. p. 453) gives the following anecdote as the cause of his entering upon a sea-faring life: "Being led by his profession to a connexion with the millers, young Westcott used frequently to be sent to the mill. It happened in one of his visits, that by the accidental breaking of a rope, the machine was disordered; and neither the owner nor his men being equal to the task of repairing it, Westcott offered to use his skill in splicing it, although attended with danger and difficulty. The miller complied, and the job was executed with such nicety, that he told him 'he was fit for a sailor, since he could splice so well; and if ever he should have an inclination to go to sea, he would get him a berth.' Accordingly an opportunity presented itself, of which the lad accepted; and he began his naval career in the humble capacity of a cabin boy; a situation the most common in the ship, and not much calculated to afford vent to the expansion of genius. But he continued to exercise his abilities to such good purposes, and discovered such an acuteness of understanding, that he was, in a very short time, introduced among the Midshipmen; in which rank his behaviour was so conciliatory and prudent, that farther advancement followed. Since that time

it were a part of our condition to choose a day on which to die, where could we have found one so memorable, so eminently distinguished among great days? I have been here miserable enough all the summer; but I hope to go to England very soon. The Barfleur, Northumberland, and some other ships, are expected to relieve the old ones. Say to Lady Nelson, when you write to her, how much I congratulate her on the safety, honours, and services of her husband. Good God! What must be her feelings! How great her gratitude to heaven for such mercies. Pray give my hearty congratulations to all my friends in your fleet. I am glad to understand that my worthy Ball and Darby are recovering. That success may ever attend you is the constant prayer of your faithful and affectionate friend,

"C. COLLINGWOOD."

He also wrote to Captain Ball on the same:—

"Excellent, still off Cadiz, Oct. 28th, 1798.

"I cannot express to you how great my joy was when the news arrived of the complete and unparalleled victory which you have obtained over the French, or what were my emotions of thankfulness that the life of my worthy and much respected friend was preserved through such a day of danger, to his family and his country. I congratulate you, my dear friend, on your success. Oh! my dear Ball, how I have lamented that I was not one of you. Many a victory has been won, and I hope many are yet to come, but there never has been, nor will be perhaps again, one in which the fruits have been so completely gathered, the blow so nobly followed up, and the consequences so fairly brought to account. I have been almost broken-hearted all the summer. My ship was in as perfect order for any service as those which were sent; in zeal I will yield to none; and my friendship—my love for your admirable Admiral give me a particular interest in serving with him. I saw them preparing to leave us, and to leave me, with pain; but our good chief found employment for me, and to occupy my mind sent me to

he became so signally conspicuous both for his skill and bravery, that he gradually, or rather hastily, continued to be promoted, until he reached that honourable station in which he lost his life. Had he survived the battle, his seniority of appointment would have obtained him an Admiral's flag; but alas! human expectations end in the grave!"

cruise off St. Luccars, to intercept the market boats, the poor cabbage carriers. Oh! humiliation! But for the consciousness that I did not deserve degradation from any hand, and that my good estimation would not be depreciated in the minds of honourable men by the caprice of power, I should have died with indignation. I am tired of it; and you will believe I am glad that to-morrow I depart for England. The Barfleur and Northumberland, Dacres and Martin joined us to-day. I have seen the account of the action and plans which you sent to Sir William Parker. I admire Blanquet's ingenuousness; but I believe the French nation will never know the truth of his story. Something must be fabricated to veil the extent of their loss and of their disgrace. I was alarmed for you when I heard you were wounded; but as you do not mention it yourself, I hope you are now quite well. It was God's great mercy that you were not blown to atoms by the vast explosion L'Orient must have made. I have heard with great pleasure that your squadron have presented Sir H. Nelson with a sword; it is the honours gained by so many brave men reflected back upon himself,—the finest testimony of his merits for having led you to a field in which you all so nobly displayed your own. The expectation of the people was raised to the highest pitch; the event has exceeded all expectation. Every day do I lament that I was not a partaker with you. You will have heard how suddenly Sir John Orde left the fleet. What was the subject of difference I never could understand, or even that there was any. It gave me much uneasiness that there should be any appearance of disagreement among men of high rank at such a time, when our very existence seems to depend upon harmony and united efforts; your squadron has shewn eminently the good effects of them. Remember me most kindly to Sir H. Nelson, to whom I wrote not long since; to Foley, Troubridge, and all my friends. Tell them how truly I congratulate them. With every good wish for you, I am ever, my dear Ball, your faithful and affectionate friend,

"C. COLLINGWOOD."

The Leander, Captain Thompson,[1] conveying the Dis-

[1] The original name of this distinguished officer was Boulden, and he was a native of Kent. His uncle, Captain Edward Thompson, took him to sea, and he

patches of the Battle of the Nile, from Sir Horatio Nelson to the Earl of St. Vincent, by Captain Berry, quitted Nelson on the 6th of August. On the 18th, off Gozo, near Candia, she fell in with Le Généreux, 74 guns, one of the French vessels that had escaped from Aboukir. Captain Thompson desired to, but could not, avoid a vessel of such superior force. The Leander answered to the Généreux's shot a-head by a broadside. A cannonading ensued, and the Leander resisted until the vessel became unmanageable from the injury done to her, and they were compelled to surrender. This was a most gallant defence, made under circumstances of great disparity of force, and a reduced and weakened body of seamen. The combat, however, lasted during six hours, and was most honourable to Captain Thompson. The loss sustained was killed 35, wounded 57, forming a full third of the whole crew. Le Généreux commenced the action with a complement of 936 men and boys; her loss has been stated at 100 killed and 188 wounded, demonstrating the effects of the Leander's broadsides. Upon being taken possession of by the French, all on board were most barbarously treated, and robbed of their necessaries. The reply to a remonstrance offered to the French Captain, Le Joille, was: "J'en suis bien faché, mais le fait est, que les Français sont bons au pillage." The Surgeon of the Leander was robbed of his instruments whilst engaged in dressing the wounded, and Captain Thompson, although wounded, was denied the possession of his cot. They were taken into Corfu, and thence to Trieste, where they were on parole. Captain Thompson upon his return to

assumed his name. He was first employed in the Channel service, and was afterwards present in the action between Lord Rodney and Don J. Langara. He captured a French privateer of very superior force to that of his vessel. He was only Lieutenant of a small schooner. In 1790 he was made Post Captain. Having been appointed to the Leander, he was selected by Nelson as one of his Captains for the unfortunate Teneriffe expedition, in which he received a wound, and afterwards distinguished himself greatly in the battle of the Nile. His noble daring in the encounter with Le Généreux, as detailed above, has not been surpassed, and it is gratifying to find his conduct so universally approved. In addition to the honour of knighthood, a pension of £300 *per annum* was conferred upon him. He commanded the Bellona in the Baltic, but unfortunately got aground before the action, and was subjected to the enemy's fire, by which he was wounded, and lost a leg. He received the Thanks of Parliament, and was created a Baronet and G.C.B., and his pension was augmented to £500 *per annum*. He died, a Vice-Admiral of the Red, March 3, 1828.

England, was tried by a Court-martial and honourably acquitted. He received the honour of knighthood, and was presented with the freedom of the city of London in a gold box. The dispatches entrusted to Captain, afterwards Sir Edward, Berry, were buried in the ocean.

The Hon. Captain Capel[1] was fortunately furnished with duplicates of the dispatches, went over land, *via* Naples, and carried the intelligence to the Admiralty.

The following letter was addressed by Nelson to Lady Hamilton at this time:—

"August 11th, 1798.

"My dear Madam,

"I may now be able to shew your ladyship the remains of Horatio Nelson, and I trust my mutilations will not cause me to be less welcome. They are the marks of honour. I beg leave to introduce Captain Capel, who is going home with my dispatches, to your notice. He is a son of Lord Essex, and a very good young man. And I also beg your notice of Captain Hoste, who to the gentlest manners joins the most undaunted courage. He was brought up by me, and I love him dearly. I am afraid you will think me very impertinent in introducing all these young men, but you and Sir William have spoiled [me]. Believe me,

"Ever, my dear Madam,

"Your Ladyship's most obedient servant,

"HORATIO NELSON."

Captain Capel wrote to Nelson, and depicted the joy universally felt at Naples, from the King and Queen to the lowest subject, at the success of the British force. The following was addressed by the Queen of Naples to Lady Hamilton upon receiving intelligence of the Battle:—

"September 3rd, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"What happiness, what glory, what consolation for that unmatched, great, and illustrious nation. How obliged and grateful I am to you: I cry, laugh, and embrace my children and husband. The news has quite revived me. I was much oppressed before. What courage! what bravery! to embrace

[1] Admiral the Hon. Sir Thomas Bladen Capel, K.C.B., the present Commander-in-chief at Portsmouth.

you would be a consolation to me. I shall to-morrow have the joy of seeing your heroes, the defenders of Italy; and if a portrait of Nelson is taken, I will have it in my chamber. My gratitude is engraven on my heart; *vive vive* the brave nation and its navy. I participate in the glory doubly, as being so greatly for our advantage, and also redounding to the fame of the first flag in the world;—*hip! hip!* my dear lady. I am wild with joy; with what pleasure I shall see our heroes this evening. I cannot say that this binds me to your brave nation; for I have always been, am, and shall be attached to it; but this augments the gratitude it is so pleasing to feel for people whom you so entirely cherish and esteem. My affectionate compliments to the Chevalier. I embrace you; my children, all belonging to me feel as they ought, and are mad with joy. May heaven prosper a nation great, magnanimous, courageous. Surrounded by my beloved family, if it were possible, I would see the brave Nelson, and the victorious squadron, and thank them for their exploits. Adieu, until evening. Do not fail to bring our heroes this evening."

Her Majesty also wrote thus to the Marquis di Circello, Neapolitan Ambassador, at London:—

"I write to you with joy inexpressible! The brave and enterprising British Admiral, Nelson, has obtained a most signal and decisive victory. My heart would fain give wings to the courier, who is the bearer of these propitious tidings, to facilitate the earliest acknowledgments of our gratitude. So extensive is this victory in all its relative circumstances, that were it not that the world has been accustomed to see prodigies of glory achieved by the English on the seas, I should almost question the reality of the event. It has produced among us a general spirit of enthusiasm. It would have moved you much to have seen my infant boys and girls hanging round my neck in tears, expressing their joy at the happy tidings made doubly dear to us by the critical period at which they arrived. This news of the defeat of Buonaparte's Egyptian fleet has made many disaffected persons less daring, and improved the prospect of the general good. Make my highest respects acceptable to their Majesties of England. Recommend the gallant hero, Nelson, to his royal master. He has raised in the Italians an enthusiastic reverence for the

English nation. Great expectations were naturally founded on his enterprising talents, but no one could look for so total an overthrow of the enemy. All here are frantic with excess of joy."[1]

The dispatches were received in London on the 2nd of October, on which day a Gazette Extraordinary was published. On the 6th, the London Gazette announced the elevation of Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B., to the dignity of a Baron, by the style and title of Baron Nelson, of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, to hold to him and the heirs male of his body. Earl St. Vincent, having received an Earldom, and Lord Duncan a Viscountcy, for their respective battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown, neither of which in importance or effect could be compared with that of Nelson at the mouth of the Nile, a very general dissatisfaction was expressed, that no higher honour than that of a Baron should have been conferred on him for so great and glorious an exploit. It has been attempted to be explained upon a principle that Nelson was acting not as a Commander-in-chief,[2] but as subordinate to Earl St. Vincent, who, however, it must be recollected, was not less than 2000 miles off; and that Nelson was directed to destroy the French fleet, the means to be taken in carrying such an object into effect being left entirely to his own discretion and judgment. As he would have been answerable for all the consequences resulting upon defeat, he should in equity have reaped all the rewards due to success. Although Nelson was of a nature too susceptible, and too much alive to feelings of honour, not to be sensible of this neglect, it in no way lessened his devotion to the interests and glory of his country. Parliament voted to him, and the next two heirs male, a pension of £2000. *per annum*, and a gold medal was ordered for the Admiral and Captains present at the battle. The City of London, having received from Nelson the sword of the French Admiral Blanquet, which he, as a freeman of the city, had presented to be placed among the city regalia,

[1] Naval Chronicle, Vol. xiv. p. 473.

[2] M. de la Gravière justly states, that this distinction between the services of a Commander-in-chief, and an Admiral holding a temporary command, had something paltry in it, considering the enthusiasm which this unexpected victory had excited in all the courts of Europe, and the immense results which it promised.—(Plunkett's Last Naval War, Vol. i. p. 236.)

voted their thanks to him, and the officers and seamen under his command, and the sword was, on the 5th of October, deposited in a glass case in the Council Room in great state. A sword of the value of 200 guineas was also voted to him, and Captain Berry was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box of the value of 100 guineas. The city also voted an address of congratulation to the King on the 24th. Prayer and thanksgiving were used in all churches on the 21st; and the Battle was specially alluded to in the King's speech upon opening Parliament on the 20th of November. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to Nelson; and his friend Lord Minto (formerly Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.), who knew so well how to appreciate the character of the hero, and had witnessed his zeal in the service of his King and country, having been present at the battle off Cape St. Vincent, eloquently eulogized his brilliant exploit, observing of the battle, that "as it had done more to exalt the reputation of our country, and added more to the ancient, and already accumulated stock of British Naval glory, so it had contributed more essentially to the solid interests and security of this empire, as well as to the salvation of the rest of the world, than perhaps any other single event recorded in history." No one could better estimate the genius of Nelson than Lord Minto, and the following remark, in the course of his speech, is well worthy of observation:—"There is one other point of excellence to which I must say a single word, because I am, perhaps, the man in the world who has had the best opportunity of being acquainted with it. The world knows that Lord Nelson can fight the battles of his country; but a constant and confidential correspondence with this great man, for a considerable portion of time, has taught me, that he is not less capable of providing for its political interests and honour, on occasions of great delicacy and embarrassment. In that new capacity I have witnessed a degree of ability, judgment, temper, and conciliation, not always allied to the sort of spirit which, without an instant's hesitation, can attack on one day the whole Spanish line with his single ship, and, on another, a superior French fleet, moored and fortified within the islands and shoals of an unknown bay; what can I add to these two

short facts? They are themselves a volume of praise, and must leave behind them all the common and vulgar forms of panegyric."

The Duke of Clarence was no less warm in the praise of his friend Nelson.

A monument to the memory of Captain George Blagdon Westcott of the Majestic, who fell in the action, was voted by Parliament. From the Emperor Paul of Russia, Nelson received a gold box set with diamonds, together with an autograph letter. The Grand Signior transmitted to him a superb diamond Aigrette (called a Chelongk, or Plume of Triumph) and a pelisse of sable fur of the first quality. Nor did he forget the seamen who had fought in this battle: to them he sent for distribution a purse of 2000 sequins.

The Naval Chronicle (Vol. xiv. p. 472), contains the following translation of the letter accompanying the aigrette from the Grand Signior:—

"It is but lately that by a written communication it has been made known how much the Sublime Porte rejoiced at the first advice received of the English squadron in the White Sea having defeated the French squadron off Alexandria in Egypt.

"By recent accounts, comprehending a specific detail of the action, it appears now more positive that his Britannic Majesty's fleet has actually destroyed by that action the best ships the French had in their possession.

"This joyful event therefore, laying this empire under an obligation, and the service rendered by our much esteemed friend Admiral Nelson on this occasion, being of a nature to call forth the public acknowledgments, his Imperial Majesty, the powerful, formidable, and most magnificent Grand Signior, has destined, as a present in his Imperial name to the said Admiral, a diamond *aigrette* (*chelongk*) and a sable fur with broad sleeves, besides 2000 sequins to be distributed among the wounded of his crew. And as the English Minister is constantly zealous to contribute, by his endeavours, to the increase of friendship between the two Courts, it is hoped he will not fail to make known this circumstance to his Court, and to solicit the permission of the powerful and most august King of England for the said Admiral to put on and wear the said *aigrette* and pelisse."

"Sept. 8, 1798."

The presents from the Grand Signior were brought to Nelson by Mahomet Kelim, an Effendi, in a Turkish frigate to Alexandria, and thence to Naples, Nelson having quitted that place before his arrival. They were presented to him with peculiar ceremony. The Secretary and his attendants were dressed in state robes, and offered their presents seated on cushions, according to the Oriental manner. The pelisse was of the finest scarlet cloth, lined with most beautiful sable fur, and was magnificent. The aigrette consisted of an artificial plume, formed of thirteen fingers covered with diamonds. These were intended to represent the thirteen ships taken and destroyed at the battle. The centre diamond and the four surrounding it were estimated at the value of £5000. and there were at least 300 other diamonds of smaller size. These splendid presents were accompanied with a letter, dated Oct. 3, 1798, in the handwriting of the Grand Signior, in which it was stated that the Plume of Triumph, or Chelongk, was such as had never before been presented to any but victorious Mussulmans. The star in the centre worked upon a centre, and was put in motion by watch-work at the back.

The mother of the Grand Signior, the Dowager Sultana, who was not less enthusiastic in her admiration of Nelson's valour, sent him a box set with diamonds of the value of £1000. The King of the Two Sicilies gave to him a sword which had been presented to the King of Naples by Charles III. upon his departure from Spain, when he is said to have uttered the following words: "With this sword I conquered the kingdom which I now resign to thee. It ought in future to be possessed by the first defender of the same, or by him who restoreth it to thee, in case it should ever be lost." The King of Sardinia gave to him likewise a box set with diamonds; the Island of Zante presented to him a gold-headed cane, and the City of Palermo a gold box and chain, and the freedom of the City. He was also honoured with £10,000 from the East India Company; a piece of plate from the Turkey Company; and £500. for a piece of plate from the Patriotic Fund. It is needless to specify the various Corporations which conferred upon him the freedom of their cities on this occasion. All classes and all public bodies seemed to vie with

each other in anxiety to express their admiration of his conduct and to recognise the great service he had rendered to his country.

Mr. Lewis Pingo of the Royal Mint, struck a medal by order of George III. "in memory of the defeat of the French fleet on the coast of Egypt," and an impression in gold was given to the Captains engaged. Mr. Alexander Davison also struck a medal[1] on the occasion, to commemorate the victory of his friend, an impression of which in gold was presented to Nelson, and every Captain in the fleet; in silver, to every other warrant officer; and in copper, to every seaman and marine engaged in the action. The expense attendant on this munificence was not less than £2000.

On the 9th of August, Nelson intercepted the dispatches of Buonaparte going to France, and on the same day forwarded them to the Earl Spencer. These were being conveyed in a gunboat, the Légère, when Captain Hope of the Alcmene frigate, espied her, upon which the officer threw the dispatches overboard. Two of our seamen, John Taylor and James Harding, however, perceived the action, and at the risk of their lives jumped overboard and secured them, for which they were each rewarded by the City of London with a pension of £20 *per annum*. These dispatches were important, inasmuch as they displayed the condition of the French army and the discontent prevailing in it. The capture of the French fleet had goaded them to frenzy, and they despaired of ever returning to their own country. Plague, pestilence and famine surrounded them; and they looked forward to nothing but death as a termination of their sufferings.[2] In the letter

[1] The medal represents the allegorical figure, Hope, with the emblem proper, standing on a rugged rock, with an olive branch in her right hand, and supporting by her left arm, the profile of Lord Nelson, on a medallion, to which she is pointing with her forefinger. Hope is crowned with oak and laurels; and the motto to the medallion is, "Europe's Hope and Britain's Glory." The reverse represents the French fleet at anchor in the Bay of Aboukir, the British fleet advancing to the attack; the fortified islands in the enemy's van; the four frigates that were moored within the line to cover their flank, and the gun-boats near the islands; the setting sun, the coast of Egypt, the mouth of the Nile, and the castle of Aboukir. The legend, "Almighty God has blessed his Majesty's arms;" and on the exergue, "Victory of the Nile."

[2] M. Denon, as will be seen in Appendix, No. I. puts a different construction on the dispatches.

accompanying the dispatches, addressed to Lord Spencer, Nelson laments his want of frigates to destroy the store-ships, transports, &c. in the port of Alexandria. "Was I to die this moment (he says) 'want of frigates' would be found stamped on my heart. No words of mine can express what I have, and am suffering, from want of them." He suffered considerably from the injury he had received at the battle. On the 10th August, he says, "My head is ready to split, and I am always so sick: in short, if there be no fracture, my head is severely shaken. I shall remain off this coast as long as circumstances will allow me, and will endeavour to annoy the enemy to the utmost of my power."[1]

Having received a dispatch of importance from Earl St. Vincent on the 12th, he ordered the greater part of his squadron to sail down the Mediterranean under Captain Sir James Saumarez, of the Orion, and on the 19th he sailed in company with the Culloden, the Alexander, and the Bonne Citoyenne, for Naples. From a letter addressed to Earl St. Vincent, Nelson, it appears, had suffered from an attack of fever. "On the day Hoste[2] left me, I was taken with a

[1] Letter to the Earl St. Vincent, in Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 90.

[2] No officer was ever more beloved by Nelson than Hoste, who may be said to have gone to sea under his protection. His excellent temper, his uniform good conduct, and marked ability, secured to him the most affectionate regard of his Commander. William Hoste was descended from Jacques Hoost, the Governor of Bruges, whose son fled from the Low Countries to England to avoid the persecution directed against the Protestants by the Duke of Alva in 1569. At the commencement of hostilities on the part of Revolutionary France, William Hoste entered the Navy as a Midshipman under Nelson, who took him upon the recommendation of Mr. Coke, afterwards Earl of Leicester, and he served in the Agamemnon until 1797, distinguishing himself particularly in cutting out vessels, and other hazardous service, from which he became a great favourite with the sailors. In 1797, he was transferred to the Theseus, Captain R. W. Miller, to whose merits he has borne testimony. To his father he writes, (Memoirs and Letters of Sir W. Hoste, Vol. i. p. 83): "I am perfectly comfortable on board the Theseus. With such a man as Captain Miller, indeed, who would not be so? Endowed with a perfect knowledge of his profession, he likewise possesses a most amiable disposition; and, in my opinion, the person who feels himself uncomfortable under his command, must be miserable indeed under that of any other." Again, after Miller's accidental death: "Gifted with the manners and sentiments which so fully characterize the gentleman, he possessed also, in a very great degree, the abilities of a seaman; in him, I may truly say, the service lost a brave and experienced officer, and I, speaking for myself, a very sincere friend." (Ibid. p. 131.)

fever, which has very near done my business; for eighteen hours my life was thought to be past hope; I am now up, but very weak both in body and mind, from my cough and this fever. I never expect, my dear Lord, to see your face again; it may please God that this will be the finish to that fever of anxiety I have endured from the middle of June; but be that as it pleases His goodness—I am resigned to His

In 1797, Hoste was with Nelson in the Captain at the battle off Cape St. Vincent, and in the following year having passed his examination for a Lieutenant, he was given the command of the Mutine for his conduct at the Battle of the Nile, and he conveyed intelligence of the action to Gibraltar. In 1802, he was made a Post Captain, and appointed to the Greyhound, 32 guns. He came to England in 1803, and in November, 1804, was appointed to the Eurydice, and went to Gibraltar. In 1805, he commanded the Amphion, 36 guns, and was sent to Algiers. Upon his return he learnt of the Battle of Trafalgar, and of the death of his friend and patron. His grief was excessive. "Not to have been in the battle (he says) is enough to make one mad; but to have lost such a friend besides, is really sufficient to almost overwhelm me." (Ibid. p. 251.) Again: "Oh that I had been there! it would have been some consolation to have witnessed the last heroic feats of that man, whose memory will ever be held sacred by every British seaman." "I suppose you are all mad in England with the news of so glorious and unprecedented a victory. I never think of it but with the most heartfelt sorrow, and long shall I lament the loss of that gallant, brave Nelson. I forget whether I told you I wrote to Lady Hamilton. I did, however, as the only compliment I could pay to so great a friend as Lord Nelson." "It will be my first and earnest endeavour to follow his footsteps." "His equal we may look for in vain." (Ibid. pp. 253—269.)

In 1806, Hoste joined Sir Sidney Smith's squadron in Sicily, and he was afterwards with Sir John Duckworth when forcing the passage at the Battle of the Dardanelles, which has been regarded as one of the most daring deeds ever executed by the British Navy. The shot used by the enemy on this occasion was most extraordinary. The largest (of marble or granite) with which our ships were assailed, was 26½ inches in diameter, and weighed 864 lbs. Three hundred pounds of gunpowder were calculated to be necessary to give such shot effect. One of them, Hoste says, made a hole eight feet in diameter in the Royal George, and the men went backwards and forwards through it with ease. "Jack (he adds) says, it is strange work, playing at marbles with the Turks." (Ibid. p. 296.)

Hoste afterwards joined Lord Collingwood, and in 1811 particularly distinguished himself in a victory achieved over the combined French and Italian squadrons, at the head of four frigates, after a severe action, which continued six hours off Lyssa. From 1812 to 1814, he was actively engaged, and for his services created a Baronet, September 21st, 1814. In 1817, he married Harriet, daughter of Horatio, second Earl of Orford. He was a Knight Commander of the Bath, and a Knight of the Austrian Order of Maria Theresa. He died December 6, 1828.

For many interesting particulars of Captain Sir W. Hoste, and his Correspondence, the reader is referred to the Memoirs and Letters published by Lady Hoste in 1833. Two vols. 8vo.

will."[1] Upon his approach to Naples the Queen addressed the following to Lady Hamilton :—

"September, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"With what pleasure and satisfaction I shall see the hero, the brave, the disinterested Nelson, with emotions that can only be felt, but not expressed. The King has commanded the Board of Health to hasten admittance to *pratique* as soon as possible. He also charges me, as well as the General,[2] to say in confidence, that we wish that none of the French prisoners be permitted to land, for *parole d'honneur* is with them void of meaning. We expect the arrival of the courier every moment, which will enable us to declare what our sentiments really are (*ce que se positivement nous sommes*), but until then we wish those gentry to remain on board, and not to be allowed to put themselves in communication with, or under the protection of their rascally representative.[3] Adieu, my dear Lady, how I envy you the sight of the hero! Tell him all I feel of pride, admiration, and gratitude for him and his brave companions. Adieu, send me word of the health of the hero Nelson, whether he feels any thing from his wound; what news he brings of our enemies; in a word, let your kindness inform me of every thing. Take care of your health, for you will be much excited, and believe me your very sincere and attached friend for life."

On the 22nd, Nelson arrived at Naples. The King came out three leagues to meet him, and was preceded by Sir William and Lady Hamilton. Nelson has given an account of this in a letter to Lady Nelson. He says: "I must endeavour to convey to you something of what passed; but if it were so affecting to those who were only united to me by bonds of friendship, what must it be to my dearest wife, my friend, my everything which is most dear to me in this world? Sir William and Lady Hamilton came out to sea, attended by numerous boats with emblems, &c. They, my most respectable friends, had nearly been laid up and seriously ill; first

1 Letter to the Earl St. Vincent in Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 100.

2 Sir John Acton, Bart.

3 The French Ambassador at this time resident in Naples.

from anxiety, and then from joy. It was imprudently told Lady Hamilton in a moment, and the effect was like a shot; she fell apparently dead, and is not yet perfectly recovered from severe bruises. Alongside came my honoured friends: the scene in the boat was terribly affecting; up flew her Ladyship, and exclaiming, 'O God! is it possible?' she fell into my arm more dead than alive. Tears, however, soon set matters to rights; when alongside came the King. The scene was, in its way, as interesting; he took me by the hand, calling me his 'Deliverer and Preserver,' with every other expression of kindness. In short, all Naples calls me 'Nostro Liberatore;' my greeting from the lower classes was truly affecting. I hope some day to have the pleasure of introducing you to Lady Hamilton; she is one of the very best women in this world; she is an honour to her sex. Her kindness, with Sir William's, to me, is more than I can express: I am in their house, and I may now tell you, it required all the kindness of my friends to set me up. Lady Hamilton intends writing to you. May God Almighty bless you, and give us, in due time, a happy meeting."[1] Lady Hamilton did write to Lady Nelson, and a letter of the date of the 2nd of December has been printed, making allusion to one written a month preceding.

Hoste gives the following account of his proceeding to Naples, in a letter to his mother: "We arrived in Naples about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of September, and after getting pratique, Captain Capel and myself proceeded to Sir William Hamilton's, the English Minister at the Court of Naples, where he delivered the dispatches and the account of the victory. Lady Hamilton (whom I suppose you have heard of) received us very kindly indeed. I had a letter[2] of introduction from Lord Nelson to her, so that I soon became acquainted; and the civilities I received, both from Sir William and his lady, I shall always remember with gratitude.

"As it was necessary that the Court should be informed of our arrival, and of the victory, we went to the palace, accompanied by Sir William Hamilton, who presented us both to the Prime Minister, General Acton, who, of course, expressed

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 101.

[2] See page 139, *ante*.

his joy at the laurels we had received off the Nile. On our leaving the palace, we were met by Lady Hamilton, who made us get into her carriage and parade through the streets till dark; she had a bandeau round her forehead, with the words 'Nelson and Victory.' The populace saw and understood what it meant, and 'Viva Nelson!' resounded through the streets. You can have no idea of the rejoicings that were made throughout Naples at the time. Bonfires and illuminations all over the town; indeed, my dear mother, it would require an abler pen than I am master of, to give you any account but what will fall infinitely short of what was the case. We went to the Opera, and were in the minister's box with him and his lady. Not a French cockade was to be seen; all expressed their joy at seeing us, as it confirmed the account of the victory, which before they had heard only from report.

"The next day Captain Capel proceeded on his passage to England, so I was left quite alone. We had been out so long a cruise before the action, that I was in want of almost every thing. Lady Hamilton was good enough to assist me until I was completely fitted out. I lived at Sir William Hamilton's house during my stay, and was entertained by him with the most distinguished attention.

"A few days after, I was surprised by an officer arriving from the palace, and inquiring for me: on my being presented to him, he gave me a note from the Queen, (but whom I was to consider *incog.*) and a small box with a very handsome diamond ring enclosed in it; two hundred guineas for the brig's company, and six pipes of wine and two calves for the same purpose. I returned an answer which was not adequate to the occasion, and on her birthday, which happened a few days after, I dressed the Mutine completely in colours, which is reckoned a token of respect."[1]

Naples, at this time, notwithstanding the great attention of the Court, was not a place to Nelson's liking. On the 30th, disgusted with that which at length overcame him, he writes to the Earl St. Vincent: "I am very unwell, and the miserable conduct of the Court is not likely to cool my irritable temper. It is a country of fiddlers and poets, whores and

[1] Memoirs and Letters of Sir W. Hoste, Vol. i. p. 107.

scoundrels."[1] The devotedness, however, of Sir William and Lady Hamilton ultimately reconciled him in some measure to his detention there. In a letter to Lady Nelson, written at the commencement of October, although acknowledging the kind attention of Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and stating it to be such as "must ever make you and I love them, and they are deserving the love and admiration of all the world;" he yet writes, "The Grand Signior has ordered me a valuable diamond; if it were worth a million, my pleasure would be to see it in your possession. My pride is being your husband, the son of my dear father, and in having Sir William and Lady Hamilton for my friends. While these approve of my conduct, I shall not feel nor regard the envy of thousands. Could I, my dearest Fanny, tell you half the honours which are shewn me here, not a ream of paper could hold it. On my birthday, 80 people dined at Sir William Hamilton's; 1740 came to a ball, where 800 supped. A rostral column is erected under a magnificent canopy, never, Lady Hamilton says, to come down while they remain at Naples. A little circumstance has also happened, which does honour to the King of Naples, and is not unpleasant to me. I went to view the magnificent manufactory of china. After admiring all the fine things, sufficient to seduce the money from my pocket, I came to some busts in china of all the Royal Family: these I immediately ordered, and, when I wanted to pay for them, I was informed that the King had directed whatever I chose should be delivered free of all cost: it was handsome in the King."

The fête above alluded to, was given by Sir William and Lady Hamilton, on the birthday of Nelson, Sept. 29, 1798, at which upwards of 1800 of the nobility and gentry were entertained. On the rostral column mentioned, was inscribed the words, "Veni; Vidi; Vici." The expense attending this ball and supper amounted to not less than 2000 ducats; and everything went off with great eclat, with one exception, which, singularly enough, related to Josiah Nisbet, who conducted himself towards his stepfather with so much indecorum, that Captain Troubridge and another officer were under the necessity of removing him from the room. A reconciliation,

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 103. [2] Ibid. p. 112.

between Sir Horatio Nelson and Captain Nisbet, was, however, effected by the intervention of Sir William and Lady Hamilton, who represented the affair as proceeding from inebriety, perhaps somewhat pardonable on such a festive occasion. Although the Court of Naples was in mourning at this time, it was laid aside in honour of Nelson.

Nelson wrote to Lady Nelson on the 28th of September, thus: "The preparations of Lady Hamilton, for celebrating my birthday to-morrow, are enough to fill me with vanity; every ribbon, every button, has 'Nelson,' &c. The whole service is marked, 'H. N. Glorious 1st of August!' Songs and sonnetti are numerous beyond what I ever could deserve. I send the additional verse[1] to God save the King, as I know you will sing it with pleasure. I cannot move on foot, or in a carriage, for the kindness of the populace; but good Lady Hamilton preserves all the papers as the highest treat for you. The Queen yesterday, being still ill, sent her favourite son to visit, and bring me a letter from her of gratitude and thanks. Miserable accounts of Le Guillaume Tell. I trust God Almighty will yet put her into the hands of our King. His all-powerful hand has gone with us to the battle, protected us, and still continues destroying the unbelievers: All glory be to God! The more I think, the more I hear, the greater is my astonishment at the extent and good consequences of our victory.

"Yours, &c.

"HORATIO NELSON."[2]

Few places have been, perhaps, more strongly fortified, both by nature and art, against assault, than Malta. It stands upon a peninsula upon two of the finest ports in the world, defended by the most formidable and almost impregnable fortifications. The south-eastern port extends full two miles into the island, and the largest ships of war can ride there with perfect safety in the most tempestuous weather. The mouth of the harbour is barely a quarter of a mile in breadth, and defended by the most powerful batteries. The southern coast of the island is quite inaccessible. The city of La Va-

[1] This, Sir H. Nicolas says, has been attributed to a Mr. Devonport. It was written by Miss Knight. See Supplementary Chapter, No. I. "Lady Hamilton."

[2] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 102.

letta is situated on a hill, and remarkable for its splendid edifices. Brydone, who visited Malta in 1770, says the fortifications were not only well supplied with artillery, but the Maltese had a kind of ordnance of their own, for that the rocks were not only cut into fortifications, but likewise into artillery to defend them, being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge of these was said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they were to place a large piece of wood made so as exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they were to heap a quantity of cannon balls, shells, or other deadly materials, and when an enemy's ship approached the harbour the whole was to be fired into the air, which they pretended had a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink the vessel.

Malta was ceded to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in 1530, by the Emperor Charles V. upon their being driven by Solyman II. from the Isle of Rhodes, Philip Villers L'isle Adam being at that time Grand Master of the Order. To the labours of the Order must be attributed the improvements in Malta, for prior to their occupancy of it, it was a shelterless rock, and the cultivation of the land had been little attended to. Attacks, at various times, extending over a period of not less duration than three centuries, by the Turks, have proved the ability of Malta to withstand a powerful siege, when defended by soldiers of honour and ability. It was indeed regarded as impregnable.

Valetta, so named from having been designed by and constructed under the direction of Frederick John de La Valette, the Grand Master of the Order, was not less remarkable for the beauty and splendour of its edifices than for the strength and arrangement of its fortifications. The first stone of its city was laid by its founder, March 28, 1566. The funds of the Order had been very liberally expended to produce such magnificence and defence. The Order was very wealthy, for the flower of the European nobility aspired to attach themselves to it, and the successive donations of 28,000 estates or manors were fully competent to maintain a force of cavalry and infantry capable of effectually defending Palestine. The Knights were fearless in their character,

their martial spirit predominating over their monastic disposition. The city of Valetta was completed in 1571; its founder having died three years before its occupancy by the Knights, who previously lived at the Burgh, which, from having resisted the attacks by the Turks, had been also called Città Vittoriosa, and was situated to the north of the Castle of St. Angelo.

The Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem was originally founded by Peter Gerard, a native of Provence, in 1099, and in the first instance, consisted merely of an association of a few charitable persons for the purpose of rendering assistance to the sick and destitute. The house or hospice into which the objects of charity, being principally pilgrims journeying to pay a visit to the holy sepulchre, were received, was called the Hospital of St. John. The associates soon after formed themselves into a regular Order, and were invested by the Pope with the habit of St. Augustine. They were necessitated to take the three vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, under whose authority they remained for some time. They were, however, freed from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the Pope, and were then called the Hospitaller Brothers of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem. At Jerusalem also, a lady of the name of Alix formed a similar association to receive females only, and by mutual desire the two institutions were connected, the females being obliged to prove their nobility equally with the Knights, and to be under the command of the Grand Master of the Order.

As the Order proceeded to acquire strength, its views were directed to further objects, and that those who had become inmates of the hospice, and had received relief in their necessity, might have the means of returning to their own countries with safety, the Religious Order became also a Military one, and in 1121, under Raymond Du Puis, then Grand Master, the Knights took a vow to defend the holy sepulchre to the last drop of their blood, and to combat infidels wherever they might meet with them. They now offered their services to the King of Jerusalem, and became, like the Knights Templars, auxiliaries to the Sovereign, but independent of the throne of Jerusalem. Thus increasing in numbers,

the Order was divided into Langues: Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, England, Germany; afterwards Castile was added, and Anglo-Bavarian was substituted for England. The Order increased rapidly, and ultimately became a sovereignty, and acknowledged as such by princes of all religions. It sent its Ambassadors to the Courts throughout Europe, and the Maltese vessels were saluted by the flags of every country.[1]

At the commencement of the French Revolution the property of the Maltese was respected; but on the 19th September, 1792, the Government decreed that the Order of St. John at Malta should be annulled, and its property annexed to the demesnes of France. No sooner had this edict been passed than the estates were seized upon and ravaged; the houses of the Commanders were pillaged, and their possessors persecuted. The Knights were pursued, imprisoned, and threatened with death. Those who escaped were proscribed. The Order of St. John had, under Rohan, a Grand Priory established in Poland, which, on the general dismemberment of that country had passed under the Government of Russia. To the Empress Catherine II. letters confidential were presented by the Minister Plenipotentiary from the Order, but the Empress dying suddenly, Paul I. succeeded to the throne. An admirer of chivalry, Paul had always entertained admiration of the exploits of the Knights of Malta, and he readily increased the annual revenue of the Order in Poland from 120,000 florins to 300,000, about £75,000. English money, payable by the treasurer of the empire. The title of Grand Priory of Russia was now given, and permission granted to found others upon the same principles. This new Priory was incorporated with that of the Anglo-Bavarian, and the Emperor was invested with the title of Protector of the Order. French influence was, at this time, on the increase at Malta, and the finances of the Order, from the persecutions it had experienced, were deplorably low. A formidable French fleet was fitted out at Toulon, with a powerful arma-

[1] For the Constitution, and other interesting particulars relating to this Order, the reader is referred to Louis de Boisgelin's Ancient and Modern Malta. The author was a Knight of the Order.

ment, and entrusted to the command of Admiral Brueys, who appeared off Malta with no less than 18 ships of the line, 18 frigates, and about 400 transports, having 40,000 troops on board. Malta was at this time in a good state of defence, and had troops sufficient to have withstood for a considerable time any attacks from the French. On the 6th of June, 1798, the first division of the French fleet appeared in sight of Malta, and occasioned much alarm. This division consisted of a few frigates, and 70 transports, but the Commodore Sidoux perceiving the batteries well mounted, only ventured to express his surprise, and profess neutrality which he said subsisted between France and the Order. Some vessels in want of repairs were thereupon admitted, and the demands incurred were punctually discharged. Assurances of peace were abundantly lavished by the French Consul, and General Dolomieu, who was on board in the fleet, and endeavours were made to persuade the Maltese of their safety. But on the evening of the 9th of June the remainder of the French fleet arrived under the command of General Buonaparte, who immediately ordered the French Consul to demand of the Grand Master in his name the free entry of all the ports for the whole of the fleet and convoy together. This was refused by the Grand Master, at that time a weak indecisive man, Ferdinand Hompesch, who for himself and the Council replied, that the laws of the country prevented his compliance with the request, but that all possible assistance and refreshments would be bestowed and distributed: only two, or at most four ships, could be permitted to enter at one time. The intentions of Buonaparte were, however, now too apparent. The French Consul gave to him a list of all those, amounting to 4000 in number, who might be depended upon as favourable to the French interests, and willing to join in the destruction of the Knights, upon the commencement of hostilities. With a solitary exception (Bordon de Ransijat, Treasurer of the Order), the Knights were faithful to their vows, and eagerly stood forward to the defence of the place. The French landed their troops at St. George's Bay to the north-west of Valetta, one shot only was fired, and the place was taken possession of by 15,000 troops on the 10th. Intrigue, treachery, and treason, had deprived the Knights of the muniments of war. Goza, or Gozo,

which is about three and a half miles north-west of Malta, ten miles long, and five miles and a half broad, was the only place which offered anything like resistance; it was attacked by the General Regnier, and defended by De Megrigny.

The terror upon the landing of the French at Malta was excessive, and universal disorganization ensued. The keys of the old city gates were delivered up to General Vaubois without any summons to such an effect having been issued. Much blood was, however, shed at different parts, and dreadful atrocities were perpetrated against such as offered any opposition. La Valetta was now invested, all other places being entirely subdued. Articles of capitulation[1] were drawn up, and accepted, and Malta was in the possession of the French, the laws of the Directory were established, and a Provisional Government formed. Of this administration the traitor Ransijat was named President, but made subject to the command of St. Jean d'Angeli, Commissary of the Directory, who had received money from the Order to *defend* its rights in the National Assembly of France.

Buonaparte left Malta on the 19th, the Grand Master Hompesch having embarked privately in a merchant ship with twelve Knights on the night of the 17th, and when he arrived at Trieste he resigned the office of Grand Master of the Order. The command of the garrison was left to General Vaubois, who had 4000 troops. Much treasure was taken away, and principally deposited in L'Orient, the ship in which Buonaparte was, and which was afterwards, together with its treasures, blown up in the Battle of the Nile. The greater portion of the Knights fled to Russia, where they were protected by the Emperor, who, on the 29th of June, at their solicitation, took upon himself the title of Grand Master. On that day he received the crown and regalia of the Grand Mastership, the Vice-Chancellor pronounced the act of acceptance, and the Knights took the accustomed oaths of allegiance on the occasion. The standard of the Order for a permanence was hoisted on the angle of the Bastion of the Admiralty at Petersburgh on the 1st of January, 1799, and saluted by the firing of thirty-three cannons.

[1] See Appendix, No. II.

On the 2nd of September, 1798, after the Maltese had gained intelligence of the total defeat of the French fleet at Aboukir, an attempt was made by the French to take down and appropriate some valuable decorations in the churches and convents, which gave rise to an insurrectionary movement, and the French Consul imprudently drew his sword against the people, who were offering resistance to this violation of sacred property, and who, incensed by the proceeding, fell upon the detachment, massacred them, and burned their bodies. In the course of twenty-four hours, the insurrection spread and became general, but it was suppressed. The Maltese appealed to the King of Sicily as their sovereign for protection, and La Valetta was, on the 18th, blockaded by four Portuguese men-of-war and two frigates. This was to be under the command of the Marquis de Niza, the Sicilian Admiral, aided by Captain Ball, of the Alexander. Captain Murray, of the Colossus, also offered his support. The Marquis was much esteemed by Nelson, who writes: "I must say that I never knew so indefatigable an officer. During the whole time I have had the happiness of having him under my command, I have never expressed a wish that Niza did not fly to execute."

The Queen of Naples gave information of the possession of Malta by the French, to Lady Hamilton:—

"My dear Lady,

"I feel greatly obliged by your attention. I have sent the letter to the General (Acton), to be translated. May God bless and aid with His almighty power the brave and loyal English. On the 9th and 10th the French landed at Malta; the city and port defend themselves, and may God overthrow the treason, and cause the traitors to perish. Garat has opened an office for the proceedings, worthy of him and his clients, but which will be treated as it ought to be. They are going to send our serious complaints to Paris, respecting Malta and this office, and they send to London and Vienna also to urge them. The rascally French pretend that they have means (*agrets*) to burn the English fleet; I hope that is not true. May God and the wind be favourable to them; my prayers and wishes follow them, and I ardently desire for the time to come when all our strength and means may aid

them, and prove that I am, as I shall be for life, their sincere and grateful friend."

"June 19, 1798."

"My very dear Friend,

"The surrender of Malta, almost without firing a shot, has much affected me; they are masters of everything, the port and the fort. They have disembarked from 10 to 15,000 men, a portion of the squadron is within the port, the remainder is gone, nobody knows where; perhaps it will fall into the hands of the brave Nelson. Buonaparte is at Malta, which proves that he will thence achieve the remainder, and presages no good for us. The loss of Malta is an incalculable misfortune. We protest at Paris, Madrid, Vienna, London, Russia, against this violation of territory; Malta belonging to us. They have expelled all the Knights, for whom I have neither esteem nor pity, as they did not defend themselves. The courier leaves to-morrow for Vienna and London; let the Chevalier know that. I am melancholy and disturbed, but am always your sincere friend through life."

Nelson remained at Naples until the 16th or 17th of October, when he sailed for Malta. The following letters, two without date, must have been written by the Queen of Naples to Lady Hamilton at this time:

"October 15, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"In imagination I see you greatly affected at the departure of the valiant Admiral. I also feel great regret, but am confident that his name and presence will be highly serviceable at Malta, and that we shall soon have the happiness of seeing him again; for under his observation and direction, all will go well. I shall see you, my dear Lady, and the Chevalier at Caserta with great pleasure. Rely on my sincere friendship and gratitude. I send you the original paper entrusted to me by our brave Admiral, to return to him. My health is a little better, but not yet well; but we must be patient, and perform our duty to the last. Adieu. A thousand compliments to the Chevalier Hamilton, and believe me for life your sincere friend."

"My dear Lady,

"We have just received the news of the Republican squadron being before Malta, and of their having already taken a Maltese polacca in proof of hostility; but a more striking one is, that they have sent a force and boats to Pantellaria, to learn whether that island belongs to Malta or to us, and finding that it is ours they quitted it, a proof that their designs are against Malta, the loss of which would be a great misfortune to us, as these rogues would have a port and fortress directly in front of us, from which no power would dislodge them; they fear the English, and inquire everywhere as to their position; they sail badly, being too heavily laden. It would, perhaps, be useful to let our friend and preserver Nelson know this news, but it would be as well that the Chevalier should go and inform the good and true General who will tell him (Nelson) best. Adieu, my dear friend, rely on my affection and gratitude under all trials."

"My dear Lady,

"I send you Nelson's interesting letter, the translation of which I have read with much pleasure. The wind has been fresh from the west, and I hope the squadron has made good way. May God accompany them, and enable Malta to maintain itself until they arrive. All this deranges me very much. A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, and believe me yours through life."

Captain Ball addressed the following to Lady Hamilton:—

"Alexander, off Malta, October 19th, 1798.

"I cannot let slip this occasion to address a few lines to the best friend and patroness of the navy, and to assure you and Sir William Hamilton, that I shall ever retain the most lively sense of the attention and hospitality we all received at Naples through your goodness. I have brought upon myself a great deal of envy, by shewing the official order I received from you, at Mr. Head's, signed à la Nelson.

"The Marquis de Niza is a candidate for carrying you to Lisbon; old Barker kissed the order, and regretted that he had not a chance; but I stand more in fear of Foley than

any one. There was a report made of his ship the day I sailed, which I did not at all like; however, I shall depend upon your firmness. I trust that a very short time will put us in possession of the French ships in the harbour of Malta, *viz.*, Le Guillaume Tell, of 80 guns; La Diana and La Justice, frigates of 40 guns, besides two ships, formerly Maltese. The French would be glad of a sufficient excuse to surrender, which they will soon have, as they are firing away their powder very fast. The Maltese have gone too far ever to recede; they keep up their spirits, and think that the English will do every thing for them—that we carry with us every where the cornucopia. I think their character partakes a little of the Corsican breed.

"Mr. Davenport is in good health, and makes an excellent *voyageur*. He desires his best respects to you and Sir William. I inclose a letter from the boy Mrs. Cadogan sent with me. He is a good lad, and promises well. My best respects to her.

"I request that you will have the goodness to remember me to Lady Knight, Miss Knight, and all my English friends. Pray accept of my best wishes for your's and Sir William's health.

"I have the honour to be,

"With infinite respect,

"Dear Madam,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL."

Lord Nelson, on the 24th, the day of his arrival off Malta, wrote also to Lady Hamilton:—

"Vanguard, off Malta, October 24th, 1798.

"My dear Madam,

"After a long passage, we are arrived; and it is as I suspected—the ministers at Naples know nothing of the situation of the island. Not a house or bastion of the town is in the possession of the islanders; and the Marquis of Niza tells me, they want arms, victuals, and support. He does not know that any Neapolitan officers are in the island; perhaps,

although I have their names, none are arrived; and it is very certain, by the Marquis's account, that no supplies have been sent by the governors of Syracuse or Messina. However, I shall and will know every thing as soon as the Marquis is gone, which will be to-morrow morning. He says he is very anxious to serve under my command; and, by his exchanging his ship, it appears as if he was so: however, I understand the trim of our English ships better.

"Ball will have the management of the blockade after my departure, as it seems the court of Naples thinks my presence may be necessary and useful in the beginning of November. I hope it will prove so; but I feel my duty lays at present in the East; for, until I know the shipping in Egypt are destroyed, I shall never consider the French army as completely sure of never returning to Europe.

"However, all my views are to serve, and save the Two Sicilies; and to do that which their Majesties may wish me, even against my own opinion, when I come to Naples; and that country is at war. I shall wish to have a meeting with General Acton on this subject.

"You will, I am sure, do me justice with the Queen; for, I declare to God, my whole study is how best to meet her approbation.

"May God bless you and Sir William; and ever believe me, with the most affectionate regard, your obliged and faithful friend,

"HORATIO NELSON.

"I may possibly, but that is not certain, send in the inclosed letter. Shew it to Sir William. This must depend on what I hear *and see;* for I believe scarcely any thing I hear.

"Once more, God bless you!"

When Sir James Saumarez was taking home the Nile prizes, being detained off Malta, he, after an ineffectual attempt to obtain the surrender of the island from the French, furnished to the Maltese 1200 muskets, and a quantity of ammunition, which subsequently proved of service to them in the recovery of their liberty.

Upon arriving at Malta, Nelson found the French colours

flying on the castle of Gozo, and in the town of Malta. The Marquis de Niza was sent back to Naples to refit, and Nelson determined upon ascertaining precisely how matters stood, as the information he had already obtained was very unsatisfactory. He had been led to expect that the islanders, who were opposed to the French, had been furnished with supplies, ammunition, &c.; he, however, found this not to be the case, but that, on the contrary, a quarantine had been laid on the vessels of the good people of Malta equal to those of the French. On the 25th, he addressed the French General and Admiral, commanding in the town of Valetta and port of Malta, demanding their abandonment of the island, and the delivery of Le Guillaume Tell, La Diana, and La Justice. Upon condition of complying with these demands, the troops and seamen were promised to be landed in France; those Maltese who had favoured the French to be pardoned, and mediation with their Sovereign offered for the restoration of their property. But for the assistance rendered to the Maltese by the English, in the supply of arms, ammunition, &c., they must have been overpowered by the French, and Nelson determined on mentioning to the King the neglect of his ministers in affording them no assistance whatever.

There were 10,000 Maltese in La Valetta in arms against the French, but their position was too strong to be subdued. General Vaubois had the command of the French, with 4000 men in garrison, but double this number was considered necessary to defend it, and by sickness they were reduced to half that number, but had acquired some additional strength from the crews of the vessels, alluded to in the preceding letter, that had escaped from the battle of the Nile, and were commanded by the French Admiral Decrès. Berthier gave orders that 6000 men, from the depôts of the army at Toulon, should proceed thither; 1000 men were also sent from Corsica, 1500 from Civita Vecchia, and 1500 from Gênes.[1] There were also 100 Maltese, all that were found willing to aid their invaders.

Upon Nelson's arrival off Malta, Captain Ball was directed

[1] Campagnes d'Egypte et de Syrie, 1798-1799. Paris, 1847, 8vo. Vol. i. p. 30.

to summon Gozo, which he did, and a capitulation was the result, October 30th, 1798. One hundred and fifteen prisoners of the garrison were conveyed on board the Alexander, received by the Vanguard, and the same number transferred to the Minotaur, which took them to Naples, whence they were sent to Nice.

The success of the French in Italy rendered our arrangements with the Barbary powers, from Tunis to Tangier, a matter of great importance in reference to our trade in the Levant. No one rendered more effectual assistance in this matter than the Consul at Tunis, Perkins Magra, Esq.,[1] whose conduct is frequently alluded to by Nelson with distinguished approbation.

The great attention paid to Nelson's health by Lady Hamilton was very generally and warmly acknowledged. Earl St. Vincent wrote to Lady Hamilton thus :—

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"Ten thousand most grateful thanks are due to your Ladyship, for restoring the health of our invaluable friend Nelson, on whose life, the fate of the remaining Governments in Europe, whose system has not been deranged by those devils, depends. Pray do not let your fascinating Neapolitan dames approach too near him, for he is made of flesh and blood, and cannot resist their temptations.

"Lady St. Vincent will be transported with your attention to her: I have sent the fan mounts, for Lady Nelson and her, by Sir James Saumarez, who, after seeing the French prizes safe moored in the Tagus, conveys the Duke D'Havie to England. He, poor man! although a Grandee of Spain, having been driven out of that kingdom by the insolent intrigues of Truguet.

[1] I had the happiness of being intimately acquainted with the late Major Perkins Magra, and had the honour of enjoying his friendship for many years. He was one of the equerries to the late Duke of Sussex, and was very highly esteemed by his Royal Highness, and a very distinguished circle of friends. He was a man of enlightened and comprehensive views, and had remarkable decision of character. He died in February, 1826, leaving me his executor, by which the copies of several of his letters to Lord Nelson, Sir William Hamilton, and Sir Alexander Ball, have come into my hands, and prove useful in illustrating the career of our great naval hero.—(See Appendix, No. III.)

"I have obeyed your Ladyship's commands respecting Tom Bowen, who is now Captain of L'Aquilon, and gone to Lisbon to take possession of her, and his brother William, who married a daughter of Sir William Parker, I have appointed to the Caroline, the finest frigate I have, and he is employed on the most advantageous service for filling his pockets. Should your Ladyship have any other protegées, I desire you will not spare me.

"I am very much penetrated with the condescension their Majesties of the Two Sicilies have graciously shewn to me through your Ladyship, and I rely on your doing justice to my feelings upon the occasion.

"I have taken up my residence here, for some months, that I may be ready to afford succour to the detachments of the fleet I have the honour to command, in the Levant and before Cadiz, and when Sir William and you arrive, I shall be able to give you some English mutton, in a plain way.

"Continue to love me, and rest assured of the most unfeigned and affectionate regard of, my dear Lady Hamilton,

"Your faithful and devoted Knight,

"ST. VINCENT.[1]

"Admiral's House,
"Rosia, Gibraltar,
"28th October, 1798."

Lady Hamilton was exceedingly attentive to all Nelson's favourite officers as well as to himself. Captain Troubridge thus addressed her:—

"Culloden, October 20th, 1798.

"My dear Madam,

"My letter to Sir William was to prevent any delay of the Cutter, that he might send any intelligence he might be in possession of since Sir Horatio's departure. I mentioned at

[1] This letter, and the subsequent one of the date of December 7th, have appeared in the "Letters of Lord Nelson to Lady Hamilton." The greater number of those printed were never returned to the Collection from which they were abstracted. The letters now printed are taken from the originals, unless otherwise expressed.

the bottom that he should have the *Budget* the moment my people could copy it. Captain Waller will have given it to you *long, long*, ere this.

"I am highly flattered by the honour her Majesty has done me by thinking of me. Indeed I begin to think you will spoil us all; we shall not be able to stay out for eight or nine months cruising, after all this attention. I sincerely wish the Princess a good time, for I really am very partial to the King and Royal family of Naples. I should have been with you, but I hope Monday evening the Culloden will be at Naples. I shall then have leisure, and be highly flattered by the introduction your Ladyship mentions. I shall say nothing of our *French* friends at Alexandria, as Sir William is in possession of all I am, except a small extract I send you from Captain Hood's letter, which I am sure will please you as it does me, so many villains out of the world, one of them, an aide-de-camp of a *wretch* they call Buonaparte. The messenger waits for this. I beg my respects to Sir William.

"I have the honour to be,

"With great sincerity,

"Your ever obliged and obedient

"Humble servant,

"T. TROUBRIDGE.

"Lady Hamilton."

CHAPTER VII.

1798.

At the urgent request of the King of Naples and the court, Nelson promised to return in the first week in November to concert the commencement of the war in which the King was to lead the troops, 30,000 in number, in person. There was, however, much hesitation on the occasion, as on the 14th November Nelson writes to Earl Spencer that he had been present at the deliberations with the King, General Mack, and Sir John Acton, and that a disposition appeared to exist in consequence of want of assurance of support from the Emperor of Austria to wait until the French had made further aggressions. Nelson boldly told the King: "Either to advance, trusting to God for his blessing on a just cause, to die with *l'epée à la main*, or remain quiet and be kicked out of your kingdoms."[1]

The letter just alluded to, which embraces the dates of the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 18th November, is generally considered as the first signed by Nelson as a Peer, his previous letters being Horatio Nelson. It, however, appears that Earl Spencer had apprised him in a letter of the date of the 7th of October, of the King having conferred upon him the dignity of a Baron, and the same was gazetted on the day preceding. Nelson did not receive this letter until the 7th of December, having been at Leghorn. Lord Spencer's letter of the 2nd of October upon receipt of the dispatches by Captain Capel, states only that in his next he should have the pleasure of acquainting him of the measures to be taken by the Government to mark their sense of his merits, and it is probable that some private information between the 2nd and the 6th may have been forwarded to him of the intention to raise him to the Peerage. He mentions in a

[1] Letter Book.

My Dear Madam,

I honor and respect You

and My Dear friend Sir Willm Hamilton

and Believe Me Ever

Your faithful & Affectionath

Nelson

Naples Octr. 16th 1798,

the first letter written by
our Gallant & immortal Nelson
after his dignity to the peerage
may god bless & preserve him & Long
may he live to engage the Honours
he so deservedly won prays his true
friend' Emma Hamilton

letter to Captain Berry, "I have not a letter from England since Captain Capel's arrival, *except two private ones* from Lord Spencer." He says the same in a letter to Captain Ball. These *private* letters must have made known to him the rank he was entitled to hold, although his letters do not bear signature as such until November 17th, but I have the following letter written as early as the 16th of October, with his signature as a Peer,[1] and it appears to me also as an elegant and delicate manner adopted by Nelson to communicate the intelligence of his elevation to his intimate friends Sir William and Lady Hamilton. It runs thus:—

"My dear Madam,

"I honour and respect you and my dear friend Sir William Hamilton,

"And believe me ever

"Your faithful and affectionate

"NELSON.

"Naples, October 16th, 1798."

This was addresed to Lady Hamilton, who has written beneath the above:—"The first letter written by our gallant and immortal Nelson, after his dignity to the peerage. May God bless and preserve him, and long may he live to enjoy the honours he so deservedly won, prays his true friend,

"EMMA HAMILTON."

Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas states, though he does not give any authority for the statement, that "on the 17th of that month (November), he learnt that he had been created a Peer by the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the County of Norfolk."[2]

The following letter from the Queen of Naples refers to the deliberations at this time going on in Council:—

TO LADY HAMILTON.

"Naples, November 17, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"I wish to hear how your health is, and that of the Chevalier, and of the brave Nelson. Gallo returns expressly to

[1] See Fac-simile.

[2] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. Pref. p. 5.

speak with your husband on our affairs, and the subsidies so indispensable to us—make my compliments to Nelson, tell him I recommend our affairs to him. The weather is so bad, that it makes me tremble for the soldiers; I fear there will be much sickness. I cannot go out of doors, which is altogether very detrimental. Adieu, my dear Lady, keep well, and accept the sincere sentiments of your attached friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

Nelson sailed with a small squadron in company with the Portuguese squadron, having 5123 troops on board from Naples, on the 22nd November, and arrived at Leghorn on the 28th. He seldom omitted an opportunity of writing a letter, either official or private, to acquaint others with the state of things. On this day, the 22nd November, before quitting Naples, he addressed the following to Lady Hamilton:—

"My dear Madam,

"Not being able to get our anchor out of the ground, allows me to say on paper that I am your and Sir William's affectionate friend. May God Almighty bless and protect you both is the fervent prayer of your

"NELSON.

"Thursday, Noon."

In connection with the Neapolitan General, Nelson summoned the town of Leghorn, and it surrendered. Possession of it was immediately taken, and also of the fortress. On the 30th he left Leghorn, and returned to Naples on the 5th December. About this time the following letter must have been written by the Queen:—

TO LADY HAMILTON.

"My dear Lady,

"I was incapable of replying to you yesterday, being too much affected. The King, thank God, continues well, but I am sure he cannot be so long, living in the midst of such heart-breaking trials of every kind. I pity him intensely, and would be with him. There has been no battle yet, and

our troops conduct themselves very badly, which afflicts and kills me. God only knows what evils are in reserve; I am deeply affected by it, and expect every day something more horrible. The good only will be the victims. The Chevalier of Saxe is badly wounded by two discharges of shot, and one from a musket which passed through his body; also Arcovite, Barco, and several others. Mack is in despair, and there is reason to be so. Adieu;—a thousand thousand compliments to the brave Admiral Nelson, and to the Chevalier. This is for you alone: being shameful to us, it will kill me with chagrin. Pity me—pity my virtuous, sacrificed husband, and believe me, till death yours——We will spare nothing if the villains come,—enormous expenditure, life—everything; but if the people continue so passive (*etre lapins*) we shall be lost; thus the stay of the brave Admiral is a great advantage, as I could in case of misfortune, confide my children to him. We will do all that is possible without degrading ourselves, but my soul is quite obscured. La Combe was ordered yesterday to lay down his arms, and by Monday, he, his mission, and all the French shall be driven from Naples. Adieu."

The Neapolitan troops under General Mack[1] were defeated,

[1] Nelson always entertained an unfavourable opinion of this officer. "General Mack (he says) cannot move without five carriages. I have formed my opinion. I heartily pray I may be mistaken."—*Letter to Earl Spencer.* At a Neapolitan Review, the General made a mistake in directing the operations of a feigned fight, and his own troops became surrounded by those of the enemy. Nelson, who observed this, immediately exclaimed, "This fellow does not understand his business." General Mack is admitted on all hands to have been an incompetent officer, and totally unfit to take the command of the army of the Two Sicilies, and the disastrous consequences which followed his campaign, probably led to a division of the country into parties, the largest of which supported the King and absolute power, whilst a smaller one was disposed to declare itself in favour of liberty, and considered the invasion by the French as an unavoidable but temporary evil. Captain Hoste, writing to his father of the Neapolitan army, states that the most sanguine expectations had been formed from the knowledge of Mack and the army, but that the division and defect of one part broke all their measures, and that the treachery of the officers, who had been privately bribed by the French, and the bad state of the troops, being in want of clothing and provisions of every kind, occasioned a general discontent throughout the army. The Neapolitans, discouraged by their defeat, refused to fight in their country's defence, and laid down their arms to a man.—(*Memoirs and Letters of Sir W. Hoste*, Vol. i. p. 113.)

M. de Gravière describes Mack as "cold, grave, frugal of speech, and letting out each word by itself in oracular form."

and made a retreat most ingloriously—in fact they ran away. The position of the country became very critical. Nelson considered nearly all in it to be traitors or cowards. The King returned to Naples in the middle of December. On the 17th Nelson wrote to his Excellency J. Spencer Smith,[1] at Constantinople: "I have had the charge of the Two Sicilies entrusted to me, and things are come to that pitch, that I do not know that the whole Royal Family, with 3000 Neapolitan *émigrés*, will not be under the protection of the King's flag this night."[2] On the following day he wrote to Earl Spencer: "There is an old saying that 'when things are at the worst, they must mend.' Now, the mind of man cannot fancy things worse than they are here, but, thank God, my health is better, my mind never firmer, and my heart in the right trim to comfort, relieve, and protect those who it is my duty to afford assistance to."[3]

The interest felt for the Queen of the Sicilies, and the cordial manner in which the land and naval forces lived together at this time, is well shewn in the following letter from Earl St. Vincent to Lady Hamilton:—

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"I have to thank you, which I do most kindly, for your obliging letters of the 7th and 10th of November, and for the gracious letter which your Ladyship had received from the charming delightful Queen of the Two Sicilies, at whose feet I am anxiously desirous to throw myself; and as I have relinquished my intention of returning to England, (although in possession of leave to go) I hope the period is not far distant. In the mean while, have the goodness to keep me alive in the remembrance of Her Majesty; assure her of my profound respect and admiration of her as Queen: I dare not give utterance to what I feel for her as one of the first and most lovely of her sex. Our possession of the island of

[1] John Spencer Smith, brother of Sir William Sidney Smith, was in his youth one of the Pages of Honour to Queen Charlotte, and afterwards held a commission in the Guards. Quitting the army for diplomacy, he was engaged at the Ottoman Porte. He died at Caen, in Normandy, in 1840, leaving two sons, one a clergyman, the Rev. Edward Herbert Smith, the other a Captain in the navy, named after his uncle, William Sidney Smith.

[2] Letter Book. [3] Ibid.

Minorca will relieve her Majesty and the Government from one embarrassment, touching their last Treaty with France, as Lord Nelson will now be able to refit his squadron without committing an infraction of the Treaty.

"Our excellent friend, General O'Hara, is very busy in erecting two rooms for the accommodation of your Ladyship and Sir William, when you visit this curious rock. He is among the most hospitable and entertaining of men, and we live together as all Commanders of his Majesty's land forces and fleets ought to do; and I hope will do, from the examples which have been shewn, whenever I have acted with the army, as Sir Charles Grey, the Governor of this garrison, and General Stuart will testify, and if the immortal Wolfe could be conjured from the grave, he would do so *too*.

"I hope soon to hear our dear Lord Nelson is quite well under your fostering care, and with my warmest wishes for every blessing to be showered down upon you and yours, I have the honour to be, with the truest respect, esteem and regard,

"Your Ladyship's
"Very affectionate humble servant,
"ST. VINCENT."

"Rosia House,
"Gibraltar, 7th December, 1798.

In reference to the possession of Minorca, alluded to in the preceding letter, the Queen of Naples writes thus, probably at this time, but the letter bears no date:—

TO LADY HAMILTON.

"My dear Lady,

"I am rejoiced at all the good news of Minorca; may success follow success to your brave nation, our dear allies and defenders, and who will, I hope, still support us. I am free from noon till 5 o'clock—dining at noon—I say so, having a a Council at 10 and 2 o'clock. I shall be enchanted to see you, my dear friend, and assure you of my friendship. I had news yesterday evening, thank God, from the King at Fresinone. Messieurs the Republicans luckily have yielded to the summons, and are gone. There was some firing, but

without doing any mischief to Vesuli and to Terracina. They have sent an Adjutant to Rome to tell them to depart—we shall see what they will do. This horrid weather, and detestable dirty roads, annoy us greatly, and give me much trouble. Leopold is here with me, ready to receive your kindness. I wait impatiently to see you. A thousand compliments to the good attached Chevalier. I am your sincere friend for life."

The defeat of the Royal Army by the French, produced riotous proceedings at Naples, and some murders were the consequence. The Royal Family took alarm, and it became necessary to concert measures for their safety. It was unquestionably at much peril that those were carried into effect, and the chief agent through whose instrumentality they were accomplished was certainly Lady Hamilton, who could continue to visit the Queen without exciting suspicion. The King of Naples was with difficulty persuaded to quit the seat of his government; had he, however, remained, it is most probable he would have fallen a victim to one of many of the deceptive artifices then in operation among different political parties. The letters of the Queen to Lady Hamilton at this period are very interesting.

"December 17, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"We have received no news from General Mack since Thursday from either the Upper or Lower Abruzzi, which keeps me in a perpetual agony. I venture to send you this evening all the money we have saved, both the King's and mine, amounting to 60,000 ducats in gold, which is our all, for we have never accumulated. The diamonds of the family, both male and female, will come to-morrow evening to be consigned to Admiral Lord Nelson. The General will have already spoken to him about our money, that is for paying the troops and seamen. Crime, treason, cowardice, general consternation, and no vigour existing, cause me much fear and render me completely miserable, but I will fulfil my different duties to the last. Adieu, my compliments to the Chevalier and to my Lord our liberator. Preserve

the friendship for me of which you give me so many proofs, and believe me for life your sincere friend. Saverio, a faithful and sure man, accompanies the money.

"This was written yesterday, but knowing of the fête at Niza's, I would not send for fear of incommoding; but to-night I shall send you every thing—jewels, money, and necessaries, for our misfortunes are pressing, our people are infamous execrable wretches. Acton's brother is arrived and relates horrors. Mack is in despair. I feel desolate and bewildered; adieu, my compliments to the hero Nelson, and his brave nation. I blush for the infamous cowardice of ours. Adieu, yours until death."

TO THE SAME.

"December 18, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"I send three more coffers and a small box; the three contain some linen for my children on board and some dresses, in the box there are some smaller things. I hope it is not wrong to send them—the remainder shall go by a Sicilian vessel to avoid inconvenience. The French have entered Teramo, and have put the prisoners of State into secure places. In the province of Aquila they have been repulsed, the people defend themselves vigorously. Adieu, my dear Lady, a thousand compliments to the Chevalier, and to our estimable liberator, and believe me for life your grateful attached friend.

"I hope to see you to-morrow evening with our very dear Admiral."

TO THE SAME.

"December 19, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"I abuse your goodness as well as that of our brave Admiral. Let the great cases be thrown into the hold, the small ones are easier to dispose of, unfortunately I have such a large family. Such distress drives me to despair, and my tears flow unceasingly, the suddenness of the blow has distracted me, and I do not think I shall ever recover from it, but it will sink me amazed into the grave. Pray send me, my dear friend, information of every thing and be certain of

my discretion. My son is returned from Capua with dreadful accounts of the flying troops and unheard of misfortunes. Adieu, my dear, the effect of this horrible break up is destructive of two-thirds of our existence, our accustomed habits. I shall place myself in the hands of Divine Providence and be contented; but it is a cruel and mortal trial. Make my compliments to our estimable liberator. Adieu, a thousand compliments—my entire gratitude is devoted to you.

"Besides the large list of persons to embark I shall make a special one written like the copy which I send you, and whom I beg on my responsibility may be embarked and saved."

Embarqué Je vous prie,
M. C.

TO THE SAME.

"December 19, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"Dangers thicken, Aquila is taken with 600 men, to the eternal disgrace of our country. Mack writes in despair. The weather appears favourable, and so the King is pressing. I am bewildered and lost, as this entirely changes our state of life and situation, and all the ideas I and my family had formed for the future. My head is quite gone. I will send some more cases to-night, but the things belonging to my family will be very numerous, as it is for life. Tell me frankly then, if I may send to the dock to-night by a trusty man (Lalo or Saverio) our trunks, and if a transport can take them, or if that would be troublesome let me know, so that I may then take other steps.

"A thousand compliments to our Saviour from the most unfortunate of women, mothers, and queens, but your sincere friend."

TO THE SAME.

"December 21, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"Popular tumults, in which people are killed, are a sure sign that subordination is at an end; they increase daily, and

I tremble to think of the horrors which a people may permit themselves to commit with unbridled license, who have not the courage to encounter their enemy. I rely upon the understanding agreed upon with our Liberator, and abandon to him the ten innocent persons of our household. I feel my heart is breaking with grief. This is the list of the unfortunate who have a note from me.[1] The fear of vengeance or other evils occurring has caused me to keep silent about them till now. The emigrants are killed, the seditious language of the people is very alarming, and all announces a frightful catastrophe. My compliments to you all. My mind is lacerated and my heart bleeds. Adieu.

"The unfortunate Maudets cannot save themselves—have pity on them. Poor Vanni has shot himself this morning; how I reproach myself."

On the 21st of December their Sicilian Majesties with their family arrived on board the Vanguard at 9 P. M. feeling it to be absolutely necessary in the present state of affairs. The British Ambassador and family, the Imperial Ambassador and his suite, many of the Neapolitan nobility and their servants, and the chief of the English gentlemen and merchants, were also received on board the Vanguard,[2] which

[1] "Monsieur Lalo, Vicenzo Morra, Guiseppe Castrone, Emanuele de Domenicis, Guisepe Hauss, Frameno Baldassare, Giachino Diez, L'abbe Labdane, or others that I may give a note to. I only suffer for others, my own danger does not alarm me."

[2] My good friend, Captain W. H. Smyth, in a lively account of Nelson's visits to Naples, inserted in the United Service Magazine for May and July, 1845, says, that at the time of receiving the passengers in the Vanguard, "there was, of course, a considerable stir on board, for Nelson was not very nice about a ship or its kelter; and neither of his Captains, Berry or Hardy, had lumbered themselves with many traps. Matters were, however, very cheerfully accommodated to circumstances, and the ship was unmoored; but they lay at single anchor all the next day, though a fine N.E. wind was blowing, in order that the escapade might be completed, by filling the transports with chattels and alarmed merchants, who gladly threw themselves and their families on board in the utmost confusion. Thus laden, the armament weighed, and made sail on the evening of Monday, the 24th; the Vanguard being followed by the Archimedes, a Neapolitan 74; the Sannite corvette, and about twenty sail of merchantmen. The wind was then easterly, and the weather tolerably fine, but they had hardly cleared the island of Capri, before it chopped round to the westward in heavy squalls, with rain which greatly saddened the fugitives in the ill-found smaller vessels. Nor was the Vanguard, in her crowded state, at all comfortable, for she laboured prodigiously, and brought heartfelt groans from the passengers. Although rest was out of the question,

sailed on the 23rd, in company with a Neapolitan ship of the line, the Sannite, commanded by Francesco Caracciolo, a number of merchant ships, and the English transports. The passage to Palermo was very stormy, and the Vanguard received much damage; but arrived on the 26th. In a letter addressed to the Earl St. Vincent, the original of which is in the Admiralty, Nelson gives several particulars relating to these proceedings. The embarkation of the Royal family, &c. was safely effected, he says, chiefly by the correspondence carried on between the Queen and Lady Hamilton, a correspondence which caused no suspicion, as letters had been daily passing between them for a considerable time. Neither Lord Nelson nor Sir William Hamilton appeared at Court, as their movements were minutely watched by the Jacobins. By night Lady Hamilton received the jewels and property of the Queen and Royal family, in value, it is said, amounting to full £2,500,000 sterling. Southey says, "Lady Hamilton, like a heroine of romance, explored, with no little danger, a subterraneous passage leading from the palace to the sea side: through this passage the royal treasures, the choicest pieces of painting and sculpture, and other pro-

[redacted]l of the Court had retired to their cribs and cabins, and Nelson, who had [redacted] pacing the deck, had just looked at the ship's place upon the chart, when, at [redacted] half-past one, a furious blast of wind from W.S.W. gave the ship a heavy [redacted], and blew her topsails to pieces, together with the driver and fore-topmast [redacted]sail: and she had now a disagreeable 'coast under her lee. The alarm was general among the Royal party, who began to think they had only escaped a passing danger on shore to perish at sea. As their fears increased, etiquette decreased in the Admiral's crowded cabin, in which they now all congregated; and Nelson, who in such weather was himself extremely liable to squeamishness, was desperately perplexed. Captain Hardy, however, and some officers, made themselves eminently useful; and as the wind moderated and drew round to the S.E., Christmas-day witnessed a more composed scene. But still there was much for such passengers to endure, and even the noted horse-laugh of Nasone (a nickname by which the King was very generally known), was in abeyance; for royal stomachs are not more proof against the hideous advances of the potent *mal de mer* than those of plebeians." "During the height of the gale, when Lady Hamilton could think of nothing more wherewith to console the desponding Queen, she looked around for Sir William, who was not to be found. At length, it was discovered that he had withdrawn to his sleeping-cabin, and was sitting there with a loaded pistol in each hand. In answer to her Ladyship's exclamation of surprise, he calmly told her that he was resolved not to die with the 'guggle—guggle—guggle' of the salt-water in his throat; and therefore he was prepared, as soon as he felt the ship sinking, to shoot himself!"

perty to the amount of two millions and a half were conveyed to the shore, and stowed safely on board the English ships."[1]

Nelson writes that, on the 21st, at half-past 8 P.M. he and Captain Hope,[2] with three barges, landed at a corner of the arsenal. He proceeded to the palace, brought away the whole Royal family, put them into the boats, and at half-past 9 they were all safe aboard. He then gave notice to the British merchants that their persons would be protected on board the English vessels, and their valuable property received. The French emigrants were also afforded an asylum in two vessels hired by Sir W. Hamilton for their accommodation. All the Neapolitan vessels were ordered out of the mole, and Nelson directed that in order to prevent any ships of war falling into the possession of the enemy, should such necessity appear to arise, the vessels were to be burnt.

The condition upon which the Neapolitan ships were to be burnt had not then arisen, but the vessels were destroyed by Commodore Campbell. Nelson was exceedingly angry at this disobedience of orders by the Portuguese Commodore, and wrote to him, and also to the Marquis of Niza on the subject. It appears that this act had been committed under the Commodore's feelings of disgust at the treachery and weakness of the Neapolitan General. Proceedings were ordered to be instituted against the Commodore, but they were withdrawn at the request of the Queen of the Two

[1] General Pépé says the value of antiquities, works of art, bullion and specie, carried away on this occasion, amounted to no less than twenty million ducats.

[2] Captain George Hope, related to the Melville and Hopetoun families, obtained his seniority as Captain, Sept. 13, 1793, having acted as Commander in the Racehorse sloop of war. Earl St. Vincent appointed him to the Alcmene and afterwards to the Majestic in 1797, and those appointments were confirmed by the Admiralty, Feb. 27, 1800. He subsequently commanded the Leda, Defence, Theseus, Pompée, &c. He served in the fleet in the Baltic under Sir James Saumarez, and was made a Rear-Admiral, Aug. 1, 1811. Upon the appointment of Lord Melville to be First Lord of the Admiralty, he was named one of the Lords of the Admiralty. His patent bears date May 24, 1816. He continued in this office until the time of his death in March, 1818, being succeeded by Sir George Cockburn. In January, 1818, he was appointed Major-General of the Marines. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, having died in the 53rd year of his age. He was a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, and had represented East Grinstead in Parliament.

Sicilies. Nelson wrote to the Marquis from Palermo, Feb. 27, 1799: "The good and amiable Queen has desired that all proceedings against Commodore Campbell may be at an end: therefore I have to request that all proceedings against the Commodore may finish, and that he may hoist his broad pendant without any thought of what is passed. I am sure of his good intentions, however they may have differed from my orders to your Lordship."

Nelson's orders left with the Marquis de Niza were, that should the French advance near Naples, or the people revolt against their legitimate Government, to destroy the ships and join him at Palermo, leaving one or two ships to cruise between Capri and Ischia to prevent the entrance of any English ship into the Bay of Naples.

When Nelson arrived at Palermo with the Royal family from Naples, he was delighted to find the King determined (probably upon his own counsel), to send away every Frenchman from the island of whatever description. On the 6th Jan. 1799, Lord Nelson issued the following notice from the Vanguard:

"His Sicilian Majesty having directed, that all French, of whatever description, should leave the island of Sicily—a ship of 600 tons, an English transport, will be ready, by to-morrow morning, to receive French emigrants; say 200. She will have put on board her biscuit, salt provisions, peas, oatmeal, and the common wine of the country. As this will be an additional gratuity, on the part of the King of Great Britain, the *emigrées* will, if they choose it, lay in such stock of fresh provisions, and other comforts, as they please.

"All those pensioned by Great Britain, will be received by a note from the British agent; and all those pensioned by his Sicilian Majesty, by a note from the Neapolitan agent.

"A Neapolitan corvette to be attached to this ship, to convey her to Trieste and back again, and to receive on board such *emigrées* as the Court shall direct. The transport and corvette out are to sail as soon as possible. Their time of departure will depend on the King's order."

On the 24th February, Lord Nelson distributed various sums of money from his Sicilian Majesty to those who had assisted the Royal family on their passage from Naples. To

the officers, seamen, and marines on board the Vanguard, was given 1000 oz. of silver; to each of the two barges' crews, who brought the Royal family off from the palace, 100 oz.; to the Admiral's servants the same, and to the barge's crew of the Alcmene a like sum.

On the voyage to Palermo, Dec. 25th, one of the Royal children, the Prince Albert, was taken ill in the morning, and died in Lady Hamilton's arms in the evening. The beds of the officers were all given up to the Royal family, and their accommodation. The Vanguard arrived at Palermo on the 26th, and at 5, A.M. Lord Nelson attended the Queen and Princesses on shore. The Queen suffering much grief from the death of the young Prince, declined going on land in any public manner. The King landed amidst loud acclamations and apparent joy, at 9, A.M.

The landing at Palermo was not effected but with great difficulty from tempestuous weather. Nelson's ship had sustained so much injury, that it was necessary to tow her into port, which was safely effected by the Captain of a frigate, Bausan, who braved the danger in an open boat. This man, according to General Pépé's statement, was a year after this circumstance exiled.[1]

The following letters and documents give information of the great attention paid to all parties by Nelson on this occasion, and the order intended to be observed with regard to the embarkation:—

GENERAL SIR JOHN ACTON, BART.[2] TO LORD NELSON.

"Naples, December 20th, 1798.

"My Lord,

"I thank your Lordship for his free and loyal opinion that the Royal family should not be exposed to any further delays: it was, and it is still my way of thinking in this horrid and critical emergency.

"Their Sicilian Majestyes are extreemly sensible and thankfull to your Lordship's counsels, and friendley as well as salutary assistance. But as the money, unfortunately, is not

[1] Memoirs of General Pépé, Vol. i. p. 33.

[2] Sir John Acton, it must be remembered, was an Englishman, but had so long been absent from his country that he could not write correctly in his own language. I have preferred to print his letters without amending their orthography.

shipped yet, and secured under your protection, their Majestyes have suspended, till to-morrow night 21st, their embarcation. A proper person of confidence shall attend your Lordship for the proper place.

"I am, with due regard and attachment,

"Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"JOHN ACTON."

"Naples, December 20th, 1798.

"Sir,

"I desire you will, without a moment's loss of time, proceed with two armed boats to and there you will a person will probably be there to give you information. Relying on your judgment for this important service, I am

"Your very humble servant,

"NELSON.

"To Commodore Campbell."

"Naples, December 20th, 1798.

"My dear Madam,

"Commodore Stone will take care of you. Do not be alarmed, there is in truth no cause for it.

"Ever your faithful servant,

"NELSON.

"Lady Knight."

SIR JOHN ACTON, BART. TO LORD NELSON.

"Naples, 21st December, 1798.

"My Lord,

"I am answering to the articles which you are so good as to ask my opinion upon: if the weather should not permit the embarcation at the Molesiglio, I think that it would be better to suspend it till to-morrow. If the Alcmena anchors by Posilippo, it would, I am afraid, make a signal for the numerous people of Santes Lucia, or Chiy'a and Posilippo, and alarm the people of the livery in bringing at such an hour the Royal family towards Posilippo. Every head, in the palace especially, is in a sad state of accension: I should think to wait for your Lordship's opinion, if by seven o'clocks there is a prospect of embarcation, it must take place, other-

wise we are to awaite, though with great inconveniencyes and danger.

"I am, with true regard,
"Your Lordship's most obedient and
"Most humble servant,
"JOHN. ACTON."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Naples, 21st December, 1798.

"My dear Sir,

"I have received your kind last billet. Count Thurn shall attend at the *Victoire* past seven. Trust we must in God. The Royal family shall embark after 8, half an hour, or timely notice will come either from your Lordship, or if any accident should happen, from the Court.

"I am, with due consideration,
"Your Lordship's most obedient and
"Most humble servant,
"J. ACTON.

"The Imperial and Prussian Minister shall be advised, and depend on your Lordship's kind offers for embarking on board of time of the ships."

"FIRST EMBARCATION.

The King.
The Queen.
Prince Leopold.
Prince Albert, with his *Zafatta*, D. Vincenza Rizzi.
Three Princesses, daughters to their Majestyes.
General Acton.
Prince Castelcicala.
Prince Belmonte.
Count Thurn.
The Hereditary Prince.
His Princessa.
Their daughter, a child, with their Zafatta, Dalguero.
Duke of Gravina.

"This embarcation should be made at the Molesiglio at eight o'clock and a half in the night.

"SECOND EMBARCATION.

Da Ulderica Sanchez.
D. Ma. Giuseppa Bartoldy. } Her Majestyes.
3. Madame Chatelain. }

2. Da Rosa, e d. Giuseppa Pucci—The Princesses's.
1. Mlle. Baselli, first—The Princess Hereditaryes.
1. The nurse to the child.
2. { D. Gius. Garano—King's Confessor. / D. Michele Troja—Surgeon.
3. De Vin. Falco. / D. Niccola de Pietro. / D. Gius. Vitta } King's Attendants. / Prince's Do.
3. Abbe Labdan / Losinese / Eccevina } For the young Princes.
5. { M. Pernet—Cook. / Gaet. Lombardo and Son—Cook. / Leop. Caprioli and Son—Ripostieri.
2. John Kenish. / Savari Salvante. } Servants.

22.

"This second embarcation ought not to take place but two hours after the first—and some other boats besides should be prepared above those necessary for the embarcation of the described persons; in order to receive their Majestyes and Princesses baggage, for the *own* service. The rest and people appointed shall go on board of the Neapolitan ships.

"THE TWO PRINCESSES OF FRANCE.

"These should come from Caserta, and arrive by 11 o'clock or midnight in Naples, in case the weather should not permit to embark themselves at Portici, where it would be much better, but it is feared that a great swell continues there.

"The two Princesses have got in their company four or six persons of their retinue.

"*Passaggieri imbarcati sul Vascello Sannite.*

La Baronessa Acton con sei Figli, tre ai, due Servitori, una Cameriera, ed un Cameriere.
Priore Tanucci un Camariere, e Moglie.
Marchese Altavil, con Camariere.
Cavalier Vivenzio, Moglie, e due Figli.
Principe Villafranca, Moglie 4. Figli, a due persone di Servizio e tre' Figlie di Catanassetta.
Cimmino Moglie Marito, e cinque Figli.
Rocca Fiorita, con tre Figli, ed una persona di Servizio
Jace, Moglie e Marito, Figlia e 4 persone di Servizio.
Ascoli solo, con due persone di Servizio.
Marchese del Vasto con due persone di Servizio.

Cardinale Buschi, due persone di Servizio.
D. Innocenzo Pignatelli due persone di Servizio.
Bresace Regis una persona di Servizio.
Marchese Haus, due Cameriste della Pssa, ed una Mozza di Camera.
Principessa Valguarnera con due Donne, ed un Servitore di Servizio.
Marchese Savaghetta una Camariera.
Francesco Sav. Troja.
D. Anna Maria Troja, due Figli, Matre e Suocera di D. Michele Troja.
D. Aniello Puntillo, due Nipoti, una donna di Servizio.
Coca di S. M. la Regina nominata Antonia Bertoldi con una sua Cameriera
Giuseppe Lazaro Coco di S. M. la Regina, Moglie, e tre Figli.
Gaetano Teconi a Servizio delle Pssse.
Occhiè Muzza di Camera della Pssa Antonetti.
Camerista Basselli di S. Altezza Ereditaria.
Altra Haver una persona di Servizio.
2 Cameriste Major, una persona di Servizio.
Caterina Kotto Muzza di Camera di S. A. R. con una donna di Servizio.
Cameriere Castel Cicale con Moglie, a due Figli.
Saverio Rodino ajutante di Camera, con Moglie 4 Figli.
Gennaro Garzia solo.
D. Gioacchino Diaz Mozzo d'Uffizio.
D. Francesco Baldassare Idem.
D. Giuseppe Comes } Carrieri.
D. Antonio Comes }
D. Carlo de Cevarria ajutante di Camera.

Numero 116.

" *Individui mancanti abordo del Vascello Sannite.*

Piloti	N. 3
Timonieri	4
Marinari di P. F.	8
2 Classe	136
3 Classe	62
4 Classe	37
Cannonieri	14
Mancanti	264
Si è preso un' rinforzo di Soldati	N. 50
Se attendono dal Quartero altri	25

Bordo del Vascello di S. M. Il Sannite adi 22 Xbrd[e] 1798.

Il Brig.[r] Fran.[co] Caracciolo

SIR JOHN ACTON TO LORD NELSON.

"December 28th, 1798.

"My dear Sir,

"I am obliged to your Lordship for what you do advise me, has been done on board for liquor brought contrary to good order. Whatever you think of doing is allways known to be right, therefore I shall myself acquaint the King of what your Lordship has been so kind to write to me. The people will certainly be at your own disposal. No misrepresentation can ever be offered to any body in those kingdoms, especially of what relates to Lord Nelson.

"I am ever your most obedient humble servant,

"J. ACTON.

"I hope that Lady Hamilton and Sir William are satisfied with their new lodgings."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Palermo, December 29th, 1798.

"My dear Sir,

"In consequence of your kind billet of last night, orders have been given this morning to receive the seamen of the Leander in the hospital named *Spedale Grande*, upon the square of the palace, as this hospital is better served than the military one. The deputies have prepared the beds, and every thing is ready when your Lordship pleases to order the men to be there transported. I have wrote a billet to Captain Hardy according to your Lordship's direction, for permitting Saverio to land their Majestyes effects. A little later I shall write another to the same Captain Hardy, begging that he would permit the landing of the money, when every thing is ready to receive it in the castell. I shall name the officer appointed to receive it on board.

"I am, with respect and gratitude,

"Your Lordship's most obedient and faithful servant,

"J. ACTON."

The exertions of Lady Hamilton are admitted to have been very great, and Earl St. Vincent addressed her on the occasion:

"Rosia House, Gibraltar,
"17th January, 1799.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"I shall never cease to admire the magnanimous conduct of your Royal friend and self during the late severe trials at Naples, and during your short voyage to Palermo. The page of history will be greatly enriched by the introduction of this scene in it, for the greatness of both your minds, and the firmness and ability shewn in the most critical situation that ever two human beings were placed in, surpasses all that we read of! May Heaven have in store blessings for you both. Base indeed, must be the Briton, who will not sacrifice the last drop of his blood for the preservation of two such exalted characters.

"God bless you, my dear Madam, and enable you to persevere in the comfort and support of the great and amiable Queen, your friend, to whom I beg you will pay my most dutiful and respectful homage, and rest assured of the most lasting regard, and esteem of your Ladyship's

"Truly affectionate
"ST. VINCENT."

From the Queen of Naples also, Lady Hamilton received the following:—

"December 28, 1798.

"My dear Lady,

"It appears an age to me since I saw you, and it will be a high treat to me to see you again, to thank you for all your attentions, and to assure you of my eternal gratitude. Night or day, Nelson or his officers, or any one specially chosen by him, can come to see the King. I wish to talk with our brave Saviour of our future affairs. So many troubles have quite shaken me, my spirits are much depressed; I am in despair. I have been bled, but my head and chest are very bad, and I am good for nothing, but nevertheless I shall see you with great pleasure. I should like to know if you have found the dwelling agreeable which I recommended to you. Excuse the trouble I give about the cases, but they contain the clothes which I and my children actually want for Sunday, when we

have to receive so many people; I therefore send Saverio to take your orders. With what pleasure I shall see you again, to thank you for all your care, and to weep with you. Adieu, my dear Lady. A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, to our dear Lord Nelson, and believe me from my heart, your tenderly attached and grateful friend."

"January 1, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I am very uneasy about the health of the dear Chevalier. I know your attachment to him, and share your anxiety. Should you wish for a physician or surgeon, or any thing in my power, you will make me but too happy in being useful to you; therefore let me know. My health is always bad, miserable, ruined; my mind in despair at every thing. No news from my dear Naples. My compliments to our excellent Admiral: I much wish to have a quiet conversation with him about the defence of this island, for every thing I see, hear, and understand, deprives me of all tranquillity. I am neither consulted nor even listened to, and am excessively unhappy. I regret that I did not go elsewhere with my children, and shelter myself with my family from events which must inevitably occur from the line of conduct pursued; but one must submit to fate and die. I only grieve for my children, for as to myself I have lived too long. But I am very selfish to write thus instead of consoling you on account of your husband; but I am accustomed to open my heart to you as a sincere friend, and therefore you must pardon me. I wish you a happy new year, replete with all your heart and excellent qualities deserve. Continue your friendship to me, and believe me till death your sincere and tender friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"I beg you to send me full particulars of the dear invalid. A thousand compliments to the worthy Lord Nelson, our liberator."

CHAPTER VIII.

1799.

AFTER the brilliant victory of the Nile, and the active services rendered by Nelson for the safety of the Royal family of Naples, he was little prepared to find them so little respected, or those of the brave Captains who had served with him, so neglected, as to have a portion of the command placed in other and junior hands. The appointment of Sir W. Sidney Smith,[1] to Le Tigre of 80 guns, gave great

[1] Sir Sidney Smith was the son of Captain John Smith, of the Guards, one of the Gentlemen Ushers to Queen Charlotte, and Aide-de-camp to Lord George Sackville Germain. He was born June 21st, 1764, and entered the navy at the early age of eleven years, under the orders of Viscount Howe; Lieutenant of the Alcide in 1780, and Captain of the Alcmene in 1782, was engaged in various encounters of the Russian and Swedish forces in 1790, and sent on a mission to Constantinople in 1792. Upon his return, he was employed in the destruction of the Toulon fleet and the arsenal, and afterwards in the Channel service. He was taken prisoner and was sent to Paris in 1796, and escaped from imprisonment in the Abbaye and Temple in 1798. Upon his return to England, he was, in October of the same year, commissioned to Le Tigre, and sent out as Plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Court at Constantinople, which occasioned much misunderstanding between him, Earl St. Vincent, and Lord Nelson. He was afterwards at St. Jean-d'Acre, where he destroyed the enemy's flotilla, and conducted a siege during sixty days, displaying great skill and bravery, with a body of undisciplined troops opposed to a regular army. After these successful exertions, which obtained for him the thanks of Parliament, and other distinctions, he aided General Sir Ralph Abercrombie in Egypt. He was subsequently engaged upon a Convention at El Arish for the evacuation of Egypt by the French. Upon his return to England in 1801, he was returned to Parliament for Rochester, and took an active part in the discussions upon the case of Captain Wright. In 1803, he joined the North Sea squadron under Lord Keith, and was engaged in cruising off Flushing, Ostend, and Boulogne. Being raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral in 1805, he was placed under the orders of Admiral Lord Collingwood, and in 1806 appointed to a separate and secret expedition. He arrived at Palermo, relieved Gaeta, and took the fortress of Capri. Visiting Naples, he found Joseph Buonaparte upon the throne of that kingdom, and he proceeded

offence to the Earl St. Vincent, as well as Lord Nelson. The latter addressed the following letter[1] to his Commander-in-chief:—

"Palermo, December 30th, 1798."

"My Lord,

"The great anxiety I have undergone during the whole time I have been honoured with this important command, has much impaired a weak constitution. And now, finding that much abler officers are arrived within the district, which I had thought under my command, having arranged a plan of operations with the Embassy, with which I have been honoured by the Grand Signior, having opened an unreserved

to Calabria, carrying on various operations on that coast. In 1807, he left for Malta, and put himself under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, and defeated a division of the Turkish fleet. He then commanded the squadron off the Tagus, and in 1808 went to the Brazils, where he remained until 1809, when, upon his arrival in England, he struck his flag. In 1810, he was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and in this year married Lady Rumbold. In 1812, he again hoisted his flag on board the Tremendous, and sailed for the Mediterranean, where he was second in command, joining Sir Edward Pellew off Toulon. He was sent to Cagliari to adjust some differences, which he accomplished, after which he returned to England in 1814, for the recovery of his health, which at this time was much impaired. He now directed his attention to the Abolition of Slavery, and aided in the formation of, if he did not actually project, the Society to suppress the African Slave Trade. He became President of "The Knight's Liberators' Society for the Abolition of Slavery," and was engaged in a very extensive correspondence on the subject. Having taken up his residence at Brussels in 1815, he was present at the Battle of Waterloo, and exerted himself in rendering assistance to the wounded. He afterwards went to Paris, was present at the banquet given by the Duke of Wellington to the Knights of the Bath in the Palais d' Elisée, when Paris was in possession of the Allied Forces. Sir Sidney was invested with the Insignia of the Order by his Grace, Dec. 29, 1815. He afterwards joined the Order of Knight Templars and entered warmly into their proceedings. He accepted the title of Regent of that Order and retained the same until his death, which took place May 26th, 1840; having attained the rank of Admiral of the Red. In addition to the Order of the Bath he was also a Knight Commander and Grand Cross of the Royal Swedish Military Order of the Sword, and a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit. For particulars relating to the distinguished career of this naval hero, the reader is referred to Mr. Barrow's "Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith," 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1848.

[1] From the Letter-Book printed in Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 213.

correspondence with the Turkish and Russian Admirals, and, I flatter myself, having made the British nation and our gracious Sovereign more beloved and respected than heretofore; under these circumstances I entreat, that if my health and uneasiness of mind should not be mended, that I may have your Lordship's permission to leave this command to my gallant and most excellent second in command, Captain Troubridge, or some other of my brave friends who so gloriously fought at the battle of the Nile.

"Captain Ball has the important command of the blockade of Malta, and is as eminently conspicuous for his conciliating manner, as he is for his judgment and gallantry. I shall not, if I can help it, quit this command till I receive your approbation; for I am, with every respect,

"Your Lordship's most faithful servant,

"NELSON."

Earl Spencer, in a private letter to Earl St. Vincent, endeavours to shew that Sir Sidney Smith's former residence at Constantinople might render him useful in the present position of affairs in the Levant. Earl Spencer was quite alive to the objections that might be felt on this occasion, as he observes: "I am well aware that there may, perhaps, be some prejudices, derived from certain circumstances which have attended this officer's career through life, but from a long acquaintance with him personally, I think I can venture to assure your Lordship, that added to his unquestioned character for courage and enterprise, he has a great many very good points about him, which those who are less acquainted with him, are not sufficiently apprised of, and I have no doubt that you will find him a very useful instrument to be employed on any hazardous or difficult service, and that he will be perfectly under your guidance, as he ought to be. Should the arrangement for the force to remain for the present in the Levant, to co-operate with the Turks, lead to there being only one or two ships of two decks on that service, it may be most advisable that, from the local and personal acquaintance Sir Sidney is possessed of with the Turkish officers, he should be the senior officer; but I have given him to understand, that if a large force should be

thought necessary, his standing on the list will not admit of it, there being so many Captains of distinguished merit who are his seniors."[1]

Lord Nelson protested against this appointment, and says in a letter to Earl St. Vincent, December 31st, "*I do feel, for I am a man*, that it is impossible for me to serve in these seas, with the squadron under a junior officer:—could I have thought it!—and from Earl Spencer!—never, never was I so astonished as your letter made me. As soon as I can get hold of Troubridge, I shall send him to Egypt, to endeavour to destroy the ships in Alexandria. If it can be done, Troubridge will do it. The Swedish Knight (Sir Sidney Smith) writes Sir William Hamilton, that he shall go to Egypt, and take Captain Hood and his squadron under his command. The Knight forgets the respect due to his superior officer: he has no orders from you to take my ships away from my command; but it is all of a piece. Is it to be borne? Pray grant me your permission to retire, and I hope the Vanguard will be allowed to convey me and my friends, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, to England."[2] Earl St. Vincent tried to appease him, acknowledged the justice of his remarks, expressed equal astonishment with himself, and says, "I am not surprised at your feelings being outraged at the bold attempt Sir Sidney Smith is making to wrest a part of your squadron from you. I have received much the same letter from him, as the one you describe to have been addressed to Sir William Hamilton; a copy of which, with my answer, you have inclosed, and orders for you to take him immediately under your command. I have informed Lord Spencer of all these proceedings, and sent him copies of the letters. The ascendance this gentleman has over all his Majesty's Ministers is to me astonishing, and that they should have sent him out after the strong objection I have made to him, in a private letter to Mr. Nepean, passes my understanding. For the sake of your country, and the existence of its power in the Levant, moderate your feelings, and continue in your command . . . . The sensations you must have gone through before and since your departure

[1] Nelson Papers.

[2] Letter Book, Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 215.

from Naples, must have been very trying; nevertheless, I trust the greatness of your mind will keep up the body, and that you will not think of abandoning the Royal family you have by your firmness and address preserved from the fate of their late royal relations in France. Employ Sir Sidney Smith in any manner you think proper: knowing your magnanimity, I am sure you will mortify him as little as possible, consistently with what is due to the great characters senior to him on the list, and his superiors in every sense of the word. God bless you, my dear Lord, be assured no man loves and esteems you more truly than your very affectionate,

"ST. VINCENT."

Lord Nelson announced to Sir Sidney Smith that he should strictly comply with the instructions sent by Lord Grenville to Sir Sidney's brother, J. Spencer Smith, minister at Constantinople, as well as those of Earl Spencer, and Earl St. Vincent; and he immediately ordered Sir Sidney to proceed to Alexandria, and take the command of the blockade of that port. Nelson, however, wrote to Earl Spencer on the 1st of January, 1799, and after communicating to his Lordship all that had been done, concludes by requesting permission to return to England for a few months, "to gather (as he says) a little of that ease and quiet I have so long been a stranger to."

In a letter to Captain Ball from Palermo, January 31, 1799, on board the Bellerophon, to which vessel he had removed his flag, the Vanguard having been sent to Malta, Nelson writes of Sir Sidney Smith thus: "Sir Sidney Smith, from a letter he wrote to Earl St. Vincent, off Malta, has given great offence, having said that he presumed all the ships in the Levant being junior to him, he had a right to take them under his command. His Lordship has in consequence given him a broad hint, and has taken him down handsomely; and to prevent any further mistakes of the kind, has ordered Sir Sidney to put himself immediately under my command, which I suppose the great Plenipo will not like. However, he has brought this upon himself."[1]

Lord Nelson became more and more dissatisfied with the

[1] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 247.

manners and conduct of Sir Sidney Smith, and experienced much inconvenience from his acting in two different capacities —as joint minister at the Porte[1] with his brother, and as a Captain in the squadron. "Your situation (says Nelson) as joint minister at the Porte, makes it absolutely necessary that I should know who writes to me—therefore, I must direct you, whenever you have ministerial affairs to communicate, that it is done jointly with your respectable brother, and not mix naval business with the other, for what may be very proper language for a representative of Majesty, may be very subversive of that discipline of respect from the different ranks in our service. A Representative may dictate to an Admiral—a Captain of a man-of-war would be censured for the same thing; therefore you will see the propriety of my steering clear between the two situations. I have sent you my orders, which your abilities as a sea-officer will lead you punctually to execute. Not a ship more than the service requires shall be kept on any particular station; and that number must be left to my judgment, as an Admiral commanding the squadron, detached by the Commander-in-Chief to the extent of the Black Sea. I shall of course keep up a proper communication with the Turkish and Russian Admirals, which no Captain of a man-of-war, under my orders, must interfere in."[2]

Notwithstanding this remonstrance, as it may fairly be called, Sir Sidney Smith still continued to act independently of his Commander, and drew up a form of passport,[3] and avowed his intention to send into Alexandria, that all French ships might pass to France; upon which Nelson again wrote to him: "Now, as this is *in direct opposition to my opinion*, which is, *never to suffer any one individual Frenchman to quit Egypt*—I must therefore *strictly charge and command you*, never to give any French ship or man leave to quit

[1] The connexion of joint minister with his brother at the Court of the Ottoman empire was distinct and separate from the appointment given to Sir Sidney Smith by the Admiralty. Two appointments united in the same person, given by departments wholly unconnected with each other, could not fail of being productive of inconvenience and disorder. The embarrassment of such appointments was in no degree lessened by the eminent characters, Earl St. Vincent and Lord Nelson, with whom they were calculated to clash.

[2] Letter Book.

[3] Printed in Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 336, Note.

Egypt. And I must also desire that you will oppose by every means in your power, any permission which may be attempted to be given by any foreigner, admiral, general, or other person; and you will acquaint those persons, that I shall not pay the smallest attention to any such passport after your notification; and you are to put my orders in force, not on any pretence to permit a single Frenchman to leave Egypt. Of course you will give those orders to all the ships under your command."[1] To Earl St. Vincent he also wrote: "Sir Sidney Smith has the blockade of Alexandria entrusted to him. I send you copies of my letters to him; for the victory of the Nile would, in my opinion, be useless, if any ship or Frenchman is suffered to return to Europe. I hope you will approve of my conduct; for as a Captain to an Admiral, either Sir Sidney Smith or myself must give way." To the Hon. W. Wyndham he also wrote: "Captain Sir W. Sidney Smith, who has the present command of the squadron off Alexandria, I have reason to believe, thinks differently from me, and will grant passports for the return of that part of the French army, which God Almighty permits to remain. I have, therefore, thought it highly proper to send Captain Sir Sidney Smith the order of which I transmit a copy; for I consider it nothing short of madness to permit that band of thieves to return to Europe. *No;* to Egypt they went with their own consent, and there they shall remain whilst Nelson commands the detached squadron; for never, never will he consent to the return of one ship or Frenchman."[2]

Among Nelson's letters I find the following from Sir Sidney Smith to Lord Grenville, connected with this subject, and bearing Sir Sidney Smith's autograph:—

"Tigre, off Alexandria, 6th March, 1799.

"My dear Lord,

"I profit of the departure of the Culloden to acquaint your Lordship of my having relieved Captain Troubridge upon this station, in pursuance of Lord Nelson's orders. I shall pursue the plan of operations his experience points out to me, with this difference, that according to the measures adopted on the result of the conferences at the Porte, we

[1] Printed in Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 336, Note.

[2] Letter Book.

shall no longer keep the enemy *dammed up* in Egypt, but allow them to evacuate the territory by *all means,* except that of permission to retire with arms in their hands, at liberty to use them elsewhere.

"Buonaparte in his secret instructions given to an agent of his, says, 'Si jamais l'on vous faisait la question *Les français consentirent-ils à quitter l'Egypte? Pourquoi pas?* pourvu que les deux Empereurs fassent finir la révolte de Passawan Oglu et abandonnent leur projet de se partager la Turquie Européenne, que quant à nous, nous ferons tout ce qui pourroit être favorable à l'Empire Ottoman et le mettre à l'abri de ses ennemis, mais que le preliminaire de toute *négociation* comme à tout *accommodement,* c'est un Firman qui fasse rélacher les francais partout où on les a arrêté surtout en Syrie.'

"To this I mean to answer him, by his courier, now on board, (not Beauchamp)[1] that the sense of this article of his instructions intercepted *being clear,* I have only to assure him of my readiness to listen to any reasonable proposition, at the same time reminding him that his passage back to France depends *entirely* on the British squadron cruising off Alexandria, and that according to agreement with the Porte, my passports alone are *valables* with them and the Barbary powers, for *British prisoners of war.* I mention this, thus early to enable your Lordship to judge of probabilities in this quarter, where every thing is as yet in embryo, dependent on Turkish armies which may never be what they once promised to be. *On n'attrape pas des Mouches avec du Vinaigre;* ainsi je leur offra du Miel, and as it is not to Buonaparte alone that I offer this *pont d'or;* but by other channels indirectly to all individuals of his army, I hope to reach by this means, those that are out of the reach of our shells; as to the latter I feel them a surer prey from all I hear.

"Your Lordship's

"Very obedient humble servant,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH.

"The Right Hon. Lord Grenville,
"&c. &c. &c."

[1] This man was suspected of being a spy; he is stated to have been an astronomer. (Campagnes d'Egypte et de Syrie, Vol. ii. p. 314.)

In the following letter, addressed to Lady Hamilton, Earl St. Vincent, among other matters, gives his opinion of Sir Sidney Smith:—

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"Your Ladyship's diverting description of S. S. S. is very just. I remember him exactly the figure you have so ingeniously delineated. It was unfortunate for him that our foolish young women in England did not feel like your Ladyship, for they really ran after him and turned his head. This, with the very unaccountable influence he has continued to obtain over Messrs. Pitt, Dundas, the Lords Spencer and Grenville, of whom he has taken entire possession, insomuch that they put unlimited confidence in all he utters, however extravagant and incredible, has made him the important figure he now exhibits. Talents, he certainly possesses, with a sufficient degree of enterprise; but his military merits appear to me rather problematical, and I must resort to a French phrase, *soi-disant*, to designate his character. I trust, your Admiral, who is in every sense of the word, a hero, will laugh at this *modern Mahomet*, taking care to put a strong hand on him when necessary.

"Spain has cut us off from all communication with her, as your Ladyship will see by the inclosed Pratique Report. This I impute to the domineering and intriguing conduct of the French Admiral Le Crosse, his suite, and the French Consul at Cadiz, who, to do him justice, is a clever, though wicked devil. The Spanish troops are in motion towards the eastern frontier, under the ostensible pretext of attempting to recover the island of Minorca; but, I believe, the real object is, to secure the strong port of Figuera, and other important ones, on that frontier.

"General O'Hara has prepared apartments for your Ladyship and Sir William Hamilton, by building two additional rooms, and you are sure to receive the most hearty welcome and respectful attention from every individual of the garrison and fleet whenever you are released from the trying situation your unexampled loyalty for their Sicilian Majesties has so long detained you in; that you may experience smooth seas

and pleasant gales during your *sejour* on our element is the fervent wish of your Ladyship's

"Truly affectionate humble servant,

"ST. VINCENT.

"Rosia House, Gibraltar,
"30th April, 1799."

Lord Nelson, however, was not insensible to the merits of Sir Sidney Smith as a sea officer, nor was he backward in acknowledging his boldness and gallantry. On the 24th July, 1799, he writes to him: "Yesterday brought us letters from your worthy brother; and we had the great pleasure of hearing that your truly meritorious and wonderful exertions were in a fair train for the extirpation of that horde of thieves who went to Egypt with that arch-thief Buonaparte." On the 25th, he writes to J. Spencer Smith, Esq.: "I thank you truly for your letter of June 9th, containing an extract of one from your brother, who has done so much at Acre. It is like his former conduct; and I can assure you, no one admires his gallantry and judgment more than myself." The siege of Acre was raised the 21st of May, Buonaparte leaving all his cannon and sick behind. Lord Nelson wrote to Sir Sidney Smith from Palermo, August 20th: "I have received with the truest satisfaction all your very interesting letters to July 16th. The immense fatigue you have had in defending Acre against such a chosen army of French villains, headed by that arch-villain Buonaparte, has never been exceeded, and the bravery shewn by you and your brave companions is such as to merit every encomium which all the civilized world can bestow. As an individual, and as an Admiral, will you accept of my feeble tribute of praise and admiration, and make them acceptable to all those under your command." Again: "Be assured, my dear Sir Sidney, of my perfect esteem and regard, and do not let any one persuade you to the contrary. But my character is, that I will not suffer the smallest tittle of my command to be taken from me; but with pleasure I give way to my friends, among whom I beg you will allow me to consider you, and that I am, with the truest esteem and affection, your faithful humble servant, NELSON." To his brother, Nelson wrote, October 30th: "Being now the Com-

manding Officer of the Mediterranean fleet, your brother has already experienced, and will continue to do so, every mark of my affectionate regard, both as an officer and a friend."

On the 9th of January, 1799, Lord Nelson had the high gratification of procuring the liberation of some Mahometan captives from slavery. After presenting to Lord Nelson the tokens of regard from the Grand Signior, and thus having fulfilled the object of their mission, Kelim Effendi and his attendant officers were prevented from returning immediately by the state of affairs in Naples, which would not permit of the departure of a proper conveyance for them to Constantinople. At length, the Bonne Citoyenne was appropriated to this service, and Captain Nisbet was directed to take charge of the vessel. As the Ambassador and his suite were proceeding in a boat to go on board, they passed a Portuguese vessel, the Principe Reale, in which were confined twenty-five Moors and Turks, as slaves. They appealed to the Ambassador for their liberation, and he applied to Lord Nelson, who immediately wrote to the Portuguese Admiral, the Marquis de Niza, and begged as a friend—as an Admiral —as a favour to him, that he would give him the slaves. The request was complied with, and their liberty thus procured. The Ambassador received them, and they were taken to Constantinople.

It would appear from the letters of Mr. Magra,[1] that a spirit of dissatisfaction prevailed among the Tunisians, which probably induced Lord Nelson, in March, 1799, to offer himself as a mediator between the Bey of Tunis, the Bashaw of Tripoli, his Sicilian Majesty, and the Queen of Portugal.

On the 30th of May, Lord Nelson arrived at Palermo, and finding that the Bey of Tunis had stopped several vessels having his Lordship's passport, he again wrote to the British Consul, and also to the Bey, in very spirited terms upon the subject, at the same time renewing his offers of acting as mediator between the Bey, his Sicilian Majesty, and the Portuguese. Nelson was successful in his application to the Bey, being ably supported by the Consul. He was no less successful with the Bashaw of Tripoli, aided by Commodore Campbell.

[1] See Appendix, No. III.

Lord Nelson had frequent occasion to become mediator and pacificator during these troublous times. The Turkish Commander-in-chief was much esteemed by Nelson, and he failed not to retain a lively sense of the Admiral's kindness, as is shewn by several letters anxiously inquiring after his health. About September, 1799, an affray took place between some Turkish troops and some Sicilians, at a tavern at Palermo, on which occasion several lives were lost, and a general mutiny threatened. Nelson interfered, and arranged the dispute. One man, Patrona Bey, was most active in his endeavours to supplant Cadir Bey, and at length made himself so obnoxious, that the men rose upon him, and literally cut him to pieces. Lord Nelson wrote to the Grand Signior his opinion of Cadir Bey, and his approval of his conduct, a testimony of no little moment to the Turkish Commander in his situation. In his letter to the Grand Signior, Lord Nelson says, "Cadir Bey is with me every day; and a better man does not live in the world, or a better officer. He is my brother."

The affairs of Naples became worse and worse; the nobles endeavoured to negotiate a truce, or peace with the French, and went so far as to offer to exclude the King from his throne, and constitute Naples a Republic, under the protection of the French. Prince Pignatelli subsequently signed an armistice with the French, without the King's name, which called for the powerful censure of his Majesty. "I have been (says the King) more surprised that you have acted in this unwarrantable manner, as you had no power from me for such negotiations. The instructions left with you were very different. In concluding such a treaty, you may either have forgotten you have a master, or have remembered it only for the purpose of imposing on him the most scandalous and disgraceful terms. You may suppose how much I am incensed at finding the trust I had given you betrayed in such a manner, and how indignant I feel against your unworthy advisers."[1]

Prince Francesco Pignatelli was the Vicario-capitan-generale, and entrusted with the government of Naples during the King's absence. He appointed General Mack

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 143.

head of the military department, while the duties of the civil were to be conducted by deputies elected by the city. The people had no confidence in Pignatelli, and organized a band of militia to maintain public order, naming them the Civic Guard. They did not acknowledge Pignatelli's power, inasmuch as the statutes of the kingdom declared that, in the absence of the King, the royal power devolved to the two bodies representing the nobility and the people, and not in a Vicario-Generale. The Prince was, after many attempts, obliged to render up his unconstitutional power; and upon his flight into Sicily, the Prince of Moliterno, and the Duke of Roccaromana[1] (one of Cardinal Ruffo's generals), were nominated Colonels; and these appointments were agreeable to, and adopted by the municipal body. Pépé says, these officers endeavoured as much as possible to restrain the fury of the populace, and for some time kept them within certain bounds; and that their exertions would have been more effectual but for the conduct of a small knot of wily priests and malignant monks, satellites of the fallen regal government, who, seeing the municipal authorities issuing orders without the King's name being subscribed to them, mingled amongst the lower orders, awaking within their bosom hatred and frenzy towards the representatives elected by the city, against whom they excited them to revolt. These emissaries, Pépé adds, taxed all the nobility of the realm with Jacobinism, and even succeeded in throwing suspicion upon Moliterno and Roccaromana.

The following letter, from the Queen of Naples to Lady Hamilton, refers to this period:—

"Palermo, January 19, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I am more dead than alive. The reports made to Luigi, by Pignatelli, the attitude taken by this vile nobility, prove

[1] Nelson had a very bad opinion of this man. In a letter to Captain Troubridge, he says, "There is a person who has been a *notorious rebel;* but now *pretends* to serve his King faithfully. If he should attempt to come even into your presence, I earnestly request, that you will never voluntarily admit him to your sight, much less speak to him; for honour and loyalty, which you possess, never ought to be contaminated with infamy and rebellion. His name is said to be Roccaromana."

that the revolution is completed; the people have joined with the constituted authority, they have disarmed the infamous troops, the castle, arsenal, &c.; Mack has disappeared; Salandra, with 2,500 men, says he can do nothing, the troops give up their arms to the people. Igurlo has been dragged, wounded, to the tribunal of the infamous Senate, and sent to the castle, which prove that the nobility direct every thing. Three Colonels, Giardella, Bologna, and Beaumont, also brought to the tribunal—the two first released, the third confined, Castel-à-Mare—Salerno already in revolution. I expect Calabria to follow their example to-morrow. I am so unhappy, that I really prefer the French entering and stripping these miserable creatures, rather than to see one's own subjects, vile animals and cowards, but rogues also as they are, conduct themselves thus. The dinner is countermanded. Alas! my dear Lady, I am very unhappy. God grant that the recoil may not be felt in Sicily; but Naples must be regained, and Sicily defended. It is quite certain that some scoundrels are at the bottom of this plot, it being fools only, knowing nothing, who have openly consented to it. I am quite in despair. It would be a great consolation to me, if I could see you, with the Chevalier, and the hero Nelson, at eleven or twelve o'clock. It is necessary to think seriously of saving us. Adieu.—Pity an upright friend, a faithful ally, a tender mother and wife, but an unhappy Queen. Adieu."

On the 23rd of January, Naples was taken possession of by the French; and on the 27th, the Parthenopean (Vesuvian Nelson used to call it) Republic was established.

To Captain Ball Lord Nelson had entrusted the taking of Malta from the French; and as the King of Naples was the legitimate Sovereign of Malta, he proposed, that upon its surrender, Ball should become the Governor, for the King of Naples and the King of England. "In case of the surrender of Malta (he says), I beg you will not do any thing which can hurt the feelings of their Majesties. Unite their flag with England's, if it cannot, from the disposition of the islanders, fly alone."

On the events of Naples, Captain Ball writes to Lady Hamilton thus:—

"Alexandria, off Malta, February 5th, 1799.

"My dear Madam,

"I will not attempt to describe how much I feel flattered by the attention with which I have been honoured by your Ladyship and Sir William Hamilton, for which I am in a great measure indebted to Lord Nelson's friendship. You both feel such a regard for him, that you never lose an occasion of proving it. I may be quoted as a strong instance. What a fortunate circumstance it was to have the Vanguard at Naples when you were obliged to quit your hospitable mansion. I cannot express my astonishment and sorrow when I first heard of the political revolution which the Jacobins have effected. I hope the Sicilians will not catch the infection: they are already spreading reports to prejudice the people against the King; they have propagated that the first edict he issued, on his arrival at Palermo, was to restrict shooting, and threatening severe punishment on any person caught in particular districts.

"I wish the Lazzaroni would send all the traitors and Jacobins to Nelson's Island, Bequier (Aboukir) Bay, or give them to our friends, the Mamelouks and Bedouins. I am sorry that a butcher is at the head of the Neapolitan mob, as he may cause a great deal of blood to be shed.

"Lord Montgomery and Major Gordon have been on board the Alexander. I am sorry their short stay will not give me an occasion of proving my desire of being useful.

"I am prevented writing to Sir William, and thanking him for his interesting letter, which he did me the honour to send, but I shall do it by the Vanguard. I cannot get the Maltese to meet and transact business; they oblige me to be with them so much, that the fatigue has considerably impaired my health. However, it will soon be over. I beg my best respects to Sir William.

"I have the honour to be, Madam,

"With infinite respect,

"Your Ladyship's most obedient servant,

"ALEXANDER JAMES BALL."

The Earl St. Vincent bears his testimony also to the hospitality of the British minister at Naples in the following letter to Lady Hamilton:—

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"I cannot sufficiently thank you for sending me her Sicilian Majesty's most precious letter, the contents of which I feel as becomes a good Royalist, and loyal subject; and for your goodness to Mrs. Lock, who, poor thing, merits a more respectable situation than that of Consuless. She is certainly a very comely woman, and truly amiable; the designation Sir William has in contemplation for him, will place them in an honourable style, and I have no doubt, from the protection they have at home, will lead to ministerial character.

"You are very good to my old friend Darby,[1] who is a good humoured blundering Irishman, and will make you laugh in the midst of the pangs your Ladyship must suffer for the destiny of the delightful city and country, to which you have so long contributed a large portion of the gaiety and charming society of Sir William's hospitable mansion. For although I had not the good fortune to revisit Naples after Sir William's return, all my travelling friends did ample

[1] The officer here alluded to became Sir Henry D'Esterre Darby, an Admiral of the Blue, and Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath. He was a native of Ireland, and the nephew of George Darby, Vice-Admiral of the Red, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain. With his uncle, Henry Darby served in the Channel fleet as Lieutenant of the flag-ship Britannia, of 100 guns, from which he was removed in 1781, to the Infernal, and sent on an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, in which, however, he was so unfortunate as to be taken prisoner by the enemy, in Porto Praya. Having regained his liberty he was made Post Captain in 1783, and upon the commencement of war with France, was again actively employed in the Amphitrite, the Pomone, the Adamant, and the Bellerophon, in the latter with the Channel fleet under Earl St. Vincent. This vessel was one dispatched by the Commander-in-chief to reinforce Sir Horatio Nelson when off Toulon, and was most actively opposed to L'Orient in the Battle of the Nile. For his gallantry on this occasion he received the gold medal, and was appointed to the Earl Spencer of 74 guns. He was employed in the blockade of Cadiz under the command of Sir James Saumarez, and was with him in his gallant attack off Algeziras in 1801. He subsequently went to the West Indies, and returned in 1802 the Commodore of a squadron, after the surrender of Toussaint to the French forces. In 1804 he attained the rank of Rear-Admiral, rose to Vice-Admiral in 1810, and in 1819 became full Admiral. He received the Order of the Bath, May 20, 1820, and died an Admiral of the Blue in April, 1823.

justice to the liberality of the representatives of our Royal Master and Mistress; Mr. Preston was Chargé when I was at Naples with the Duke of Gloucester, and though a worthy gentleman and since a pious bishop, he was certainly a dry comedian. Have the goodness to commend me to the Queen, continue to nurse my excellent friend Nelson, and when I have the happiness to see Sir William and your Ladyship here, I will pour the effusions of my heart upon you both.

"The Governor has added two rooms to the convent for your accommodation, and Mrs. Gray, late Miss Whitbread, wife to the Captain of the Ville de Paris, will contribute all that this house affords for the entertainment of both.

"God bless you, my dear Lady Hamilton, and be assured no man respects and esteems you more truly, than

"Your Ladyship's

"Truly affectionate,

"ST. VINCENT."

"Rosia House,
"27th February, 1799."

Mrs. Lock, mentioned in the preceding letter, carried with her the following letter of introduction from Lady Elizabeth Foster.

"Devonshire House, Feb. 8, 1799.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"This letter will be given you by Mrs. C. Lock, and whilst I request of you to shew every attention in your power to Mr. and Mrs. Lock, whom you will find most uncommonly amiable and pleasing, and a very valuable acquisition to you, forgive me if I cannot help availing myself of the same opportunity to express to you the universal tribute of praise and admiration which is paid to the very great courage and feeling which you have shewn on the late melancholy occasion. I feel most excessively anxious about the poor Queen, the King, and their present situation. All England takes part in their misfortunes, and their fate seems to interest more than any event has done since the great dreadful one at Paris. I pray God protect them.

"The Duchess (Devonshire) begs her best compliments to

your Ladyship and Sir William Hamilton, to whom I beg to add mine, and pray believe me, yours sincerely,

"ELIZABETH FOSTER."

Among doubtless numerous letters of condolence upon the state of affairs received by Lady Hamilton, I find the following from Captain Manley Dixon, and Mr. Commissioner Coffin:—

"Lion, off Alexandria, March 1, 1799.

"The arrival of Captain Troubridge announcing the disagreeable predicament in which Sir William and you are in from an unfortunate change in the affairs of Naples, I cannot refrain, my dear Lady Hamilton from the pleasure of again scribbling to you, although such an unlucky event has taken place. The political hemisphere of the kingdom of Naples has received such fatal stabs from French influence that you would have been in constant fear and alarm had it been ever procrastinated. I therefore feel happy that you have removed without much difficulty or loss, apprehending that Lord Nelson has taken every care of you possible. However, the inconvenience of a sudden flight from a country where Sir William has lived for such a length of time, with so much honour and respect, must be severely felt. I therefore most cordially condole with you on the necessity of such a circumstance, and I trust and hope as I suppose you will now visit Old England, you will have every possible convenience to enable you to remove with pleasure and comfort. I wish to God the Lion was the fortunate ship; but I hear the Zealous is most likely to have that honour. If so, I must congratulate you, for the world cannot produce a better fellow than Captain Hood. I beg my kindest regards to Sir William and your good mother. I had a peep at a letter from you to Hood, wherein I was concerned to see the melancholy time you have had with the Royal family; but enough of this, and let me hasten to inform you my little friend, interpreter and companion, John, is perfectly well. He is now scribbling to you. He converses now very well in English, and seems quite happy and reconciled. He is a fine little fellow. I have been made happy in the receipt of

letters from my family. It was such a length of time and our station here so extremely unpleasant and distant from all civilized beings, that I was very unhappy, but now the gloom is dispelled, and I take a new lease for any service with pleasure. I have troubled your Ladyship with several of my scrawls but know not whether you have received them.

"The French are in *statu quo*, excepting with the happy addition of the plague, scurvy, &c. I believe the country will do them up effectually without gunpowder.

"I am given to understand the Lion is to go down when Sir S. Smith arrives. With the best regards of my dear boys, Manley and John, including mine to Sir William and Mrs. Cadogan, I remain with the most perfect esteem and regard, your Ladyship's most obedient

"And affectionate humble servant,

"MANLEY DIXON."[1]

At Cyprus, the damsels made a severe attack upon Manley, kissing him coming out of Church. His remark was, that he thought *them mad.*

[1] Captain Manley Dixon rose to the rank of Admiral of the Red, and died February 8th, 1837. He served in the American War, and commanded the Tobago in 1783 on the Jamaica station. He became Post Captain, Nov. 22, 1790, and upon the war with Revolutionary France, he cruised off the coast of Ireland whence he was removed into the Channel service. In the Mediterranean he commanded the Lion a 64-gun ship, from which the above letter is dated, and he distinguished himself on the 15th July, 1798, off Carthagena, in an attack upon four large Spanish frigates. Captain Dixon captured a French corvette in 1799 conveying dispatches from the Directory to Buonaparte, and was afterwards stationed off Malta at the blockade of that island. He assisted in the taking of the Guillaume Tell, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Decrès, the last remaining ship of the French fleet at the Battle of the Nile. The contest was a very severe one, for of 1000 men on board this vessel 200 were reported to have been killed or wounded. She was afterwards taken into the British navy and named the Malta. After this action Captain Dixon was appointed to the Généreux, another of the Nile ships, and was again employed in the blockade of Malta, and when Lord Keith went to Egypt, Captain Dixon was stationed during his absence at Minorca. In 1803 he commanded the Sceptre of 74 guns, and afterwards joined the Channel fleet in the Queen 98 guns. He was appointed Rear-Admiral on the 28th April 1808, when he hoisted his flag in the Temeraire, and had a command in the Baltic. Named Commander-in-chief at the Brazils in 1812, he proceeded thither in the Montague, 74 guns, and remained in her until the close of the war. He was made Vice-Admiral in 1813, and received the honour of Knight-Commander of the Bath in 1819.

"Arsenal, Mahon, 20th March, 1799.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"During the remainder of my life I shall never forget the many happy hours I had the honour of passing in your mansion at Naples. Sad reverse of fortune! Why did not you and Sir William come away before? My advice is to leave Sicily the moment you can.

"Should you embark in the Thalia, my godson, Lieutenant Colquill will on every occasion do all in his power to make your situation comfortable and happy. Let him be my representative while he remains at Palermo.

"Present me affectionately to Sir William and my dear Lord Nelson, and believe me ever, your obliged and faithful,

"ISAAC COFFIN.[1]

"Remember me to Noble if he is with you."

[1] Commodore Coffin was descended from an ancient family settled in the northern part of Devonshire. His direct ancestor had emigrated to North America, but became obnoxious to the Republicans, and was compelled in 1776 to return to England. Isaac Coffin was the son of Nathaniel Coffin, who filled the office of the Cashier of the Customs of Boston, and was born May 16, 1759. He entered the Navy in 1773, and was taken to sea by Lieutenant Hunter of the Gaspée brig, at the recommendation of Admiral John Montague. His commanding officer has remarked that he never knew any young man acquire so much nautical knowledge in so short a time, and he regretted losing him when removed to another vessel, the Captain, on the Halifax station, where he was ordered to the Romney, 50 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Montague at Newfoundland. In 1778 he was made a Lieutenant, and had the command of the Placentia cutter. He was employed on various services, and was wrecked on the coast of Labrador in Le Pinson, by the negligence of the Master. He served in the London, 98 guns, in 1780, under Rear-Admiral Graves, then second in command on the North American station, and in 1781 he was signal Lieutenant in an action off Cape Henry, with Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot. Having served some time on the American station he proceeded to the West Indies, and finding Sir Samuel, afterwards Lord Hood, about to sail in quest of the French fleet under the Count de Grasse, he entered the Barfleur, 98 guns, as a volunteer. He participated in the glories of this service, and in June 1782, was raised to the rank of Captain. At the risk of his life he assisted in subduing a fire at St. John's, which broke out whilst he was at Antigua, and received the thanks of the Legislative body for his spirited exertions. Disappointed in his views by some unmerited treatment on the part of the Admiralty, he in 1788 went to Flanders and entered into the service of the Brabant Patriots. The case was as follows:—In 1786 Coffin was appointed to the Thisbe frigate and ordered to take Lord Dorchester and family to Quebec. He entered two of Lord Dorchester's sons on the ship's book, and also lent his cook to Colonel Dundas, a Commissioner of Ame-

On the 14th of February, 1799, Lord Nelson was promoted to be a Rear-Admiral of the Red, and he shifted his flag from the Vanguard to the Culloden on the 23rd of March.

In the month of February he was exceedingly anxious for the safety of Messina, fearing it might fall into the hands of the French, and thus give them possession of Sicily. He wrote to the Marquis de Niza, the Hon. Charles Stuart, his Excellency Theodore Ouschakoff, Vice-Admiral commanding the Russian fleet before Corfu; his Excellency Abdul Cadir Bey, Vice-Admiral commanding the Turkish fleet off Corfu; Captain Troubridge, Commodore Mitchell, and others, suggesting means of protecting Messina. Sir Charles Stuart arrived with 1000 troops, much to the delight of Lord Nelson and his Sicilian Majesty. On the day of their arrival Earl St. Vincent writes thus to Lady Hamilton:—

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"I forwarded the letter your Ladyship committed to my care, addressed to the Marquis di Circello, by a safe conveyance, and I have sent expresses to England *via* Lisbon, and in a cutter directly from hence, to apprize our Government of the critical state of the island of Sicily. I heartily hope General Stuart will arrive in time to secure Messina, in which

rican Claims, contrary to the practice of the service. For these acts he was brought to a Court-martial, but as no intention to defraud His Majesty's Government could be made to appear, and as it was also evident that the charge had been urged by private pique, he was only sentenced to be dismissed the Thisbe, and he returned to England. Earl Howe, at that time First Lord of the Admiralty, disapproved the sentence for its leniency, as a false muster had been proved at the Board of Admiralty, and struck his name off the list of Post Captains, which was afterwards declared by the twelve Judges to be illegal, the Admiralty not having the power to set aside the verdict of a Court-martial. Captain Coffin was therefore restored to his rank, recalled to his country in 1790, and appointed to the Alligator. After visiting Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, he was employed in the Channel service, and in 1794 was obliged to lay up for the recovery of his health. Upon his restoration he was sent to Corsica, and was Resident Commissioner there until the evacuation of the island in 1796. He afterwards served at Lisbon, at Port Mahon, and Nova Scotia. At Halifax he was appointed Resident Commissioner of the Navy, and he held the same office at Sheerness until 1804, when he was raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral. He was then appointed to the harbour duty of Portsmouth, and raised to the dignity of a Baronet on the 19th May, 1804. He became Vice-Admiral, April 28, 1808, and a full Admiral June 4th, 1814. He represented Ilchester in Parliament, and died Admiral of the Red, and G. C. H. July 23, 1839.

event, I have no doubt of keeping possession of the island, unless the whole of the inhabitants determine to have a Republic. As the cutter had a fair wind for two days after she left Gibraltar, and the weather has been fine since, I trust she will have a quick passage, and there is no doubt of the duplicate which went to Lisbon getting a speedy conveyance by a packet.

"I feel most sensibly for your Royal friend, at whose feet I beg you will lay

"Your very affectionate and faithful

"ST. VINCENT.

"Rosia House, Gibraltar,
"10th March, 1799.

"Say everything kind to Sir William Hamilton and to Mrs. Lock for me. ST. VINCENT."

In March Lord Nelson received the freedom of the city of Palermo, where he remained with the Neapolitan Royal family, the British Minister and Lady Hamilton, who appears to have been as attentive to the Navy there as at Naples. Captain Ball writes to her Ladyship on the 23rd of February, "I find that you fascinate all the Navy as much at Palermo as you did at Naples. If we had many such advocates, every body would be a candidate for our profession."[1]

Lord Nelson ordered a blockade of Naples on the 28th of March, and entrusted it to Captain Troubridge, directing him to take Procida, to secure an anchorage. The following is a translation of the Order relating to the blockade:—

"My Lord Admiral Nelson,

"In promising myself, with the aid of God, the happiest success from the blockade of Naples, which a portion of the British squadron under your orders is about to undertake, and from which the same is likely to occur with respect to the adjacent islands in the Gulf of Naples, I cannot refrain from testifying to you, my acknowledgments of the aid you have lent me in facilitating this expedition, which proves to me how fully I may always rely upon the support and assistance of my good friend and ally, the King of Great Britain,

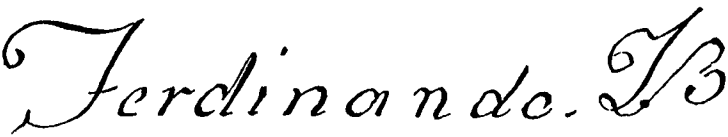
[1] Letters of Lord Nelson, Vol. i. p. 237.

as well as upon your excellent feelings in my favour, which I have always experienced on every occasion. This necessary duty acquitted, I now authorize you to retake possession of the said islands in my Royal name, by means of the Commander whom you have appointed as chief of this important expedition. The possession of all, or part of the said islands being effected, I should wish that it should be followed up as a military measure, by some of the portion of your Squadron, destined for the blockade of Naples, and landing the same on the islands, the English Commander could order my Royal flag to be displayed, and the tricolor, and other Republican symbols to be taken down, and ordering the respective inhabitants to elect seven or eight individuals of those best affected to my crown, as a Committee for the preservation of good order and the public peace, until I may be informed of the state of things, and of the results of these proceedings, so that I may establish in those islands the regular government that I may believe best adapted to their circumstances; expecting that by your aid the said Commander will achieve for me the occasion. For this purpose a detachment of my troops will be sent to the Commander to garrison those of the islands he may calculate upon securing by such military custody.

"I have very willingly acceded to the request made to me by the excellent Chevalier Hamilton, to send with the Commander appointed by you, the Judge (*di Vicaria*) Don Michel de Curtis, who was Governor of the island of Procida until the Revolution, and who, by his attachment to my crown, has felt it his duty to follow me here. He is a subject who has always conducted himself with zeal, capacity, and intelligence, and I must speak highly of the department he has held; and as the island of Procida may be the most important point for stationing that portion of the Squadron that you send for the blockade of Naples, so I am persuaded that he may be of great assistance to the English Commander, as well from his knowledge of the places, as from knowing personally those persons in Procida who may merit confidence. Curtis could also be well employed in any commissions which the Commander appointed by you may think fit to confide to him, as well in the other islands, as in the kingdom of Naples, where, knowing the people, he can with facility open communications.

and correspondence which might prove of the highest advantage in future operations, which, under favour of Divine Providence, as soon as we shall have landed a sufficient force, we hope to undertake. Until, however, the landing of the troops of my good allies, which I am daily expecting, is effected, I beg you to reflect, whether it might not be advisable to recommend the Commander of the expedition not to pass into the interior of the Gulf of Naples with his Squadron, except in case of the most urgent, absolute necessity, in order to avoid exciting by such a demonstration, the feelings of my faithful subjects in the capital to such a degree that they might risk attempting the counter-revolution too soon, before the landing of sufficient troops to sustain them, and so become victims to their fidelity to me, which would cause me infinite regret, both for the loss of so many faithful subjects, and being totally unserviceable to me, instead of waiting for the disembarkation of the troops to retake Naples, and availing themselves of their manœuvres in the interior to chase the French from the capital, and suppress the rebels to my crown. I submit this reflection, my Lord, to your consideration, being persuaded that you will see the importance of it, and that your prudence and profound judgment will best decide the point, and furnish the Commander with such instructions as will be best adapted to secure the essential object.

"I also authorise the Commander Troubridge to hold military possession of the said islands, and until I can re-establish a regular Government, to act in all respects as he may deem best for the reinstatement of order and security, and of reducing the rebels to obedience. And now, renewing my protestations of sincere gratitude and high esteem, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping. Palermo, March 30, 1799.



At this time the Queen of Naples writes to Lady Hamilton :—

"My dear Lady,

"This is my letter for Curtis,[1] which I beg you to send; and also I beg you, my dear Lady, to recommend to the brave Troubridge the new Governor of Ischia, Vincenzo Mattei; his exterior is very repulsive, besides which he is detested, having accused the Jacobins, a crime they will never pardon, and the ramifications of their vengeance are wider spread than you can easily imagine; but he is a skilful, talented man, much attached to the Crown, and I beg you to recommend him. I will speak to the Masters themselves, to-day, for the house of Montalto; I spoke about it yesterday, for I interest myself much in it. If I could talk with you a moment, it could be arranged between us, as I desire only to gratify you in it all. To-day I am going to the Convent, but to-morrow morning, if you could come about noon, for a short time, we could talk it over. I again pressed Capero last night for provisions, but these people promise and do nothing. The four armed chaloupes are ready, and they can have them, but those for the mortars are not yet done. All these delays annoy me; it is no fault of mine, but here they have no idea of any thing; no government, nor order, nor care whatsoever —they live only from day to day, and these leeches of dealers that one must employ, although undoubtedly they plunder the provisions, yet one gets them at any rate quicker, being at first hand. Adieu, my very dear friend—keep yourself well, rely on my friendship for life. A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, and to our defender Nelson.

"Will you have the kindness to borrow for me again the Moniteurs, that Gravina may read them."

"My dear Lady,

"I send you back the letter of our dear Admiral, with a thousand thanks for having confided it to me. I am very anxious to receive later news, and greatly desire to see him soon again with us. I have no news. Procida holds out, the English frigate has arrived there from Messina; they have sent a frigate of ours there, and four galliots, so that I hope they will be able to defend themselves against that great scoundrel Caracciolo. May I venture to ask you what news was

[1] Don Michel de Curtis, Governor of the Island of Procida. See Order for the Blockade of Naples, page 211, *ante*.

brought by the Flotte with Captain Dixon, either as to the French Squadron, or their troops. Adieu, my very dear Lady, how much I wish I were living nearer you, that I might see you oftener, and assure you of my sincere and constant friendship.

"A thousand compliments to the dear Chevalier."

On the day following the date of the order for the blockade, Lord Nelson had possession of all the islands in the bay of Naples, and of all the Jacobin municipality, officers, &c. who were prisoners on board the British ships of war. Captain Troubridge wrote to Lord Nelson on the depravity of the Republicans, and the necessity of sending an honest judge, as it would be impossible to go on with such an increase of villains upon his hands, unless some example should be made. This request was complied with, and Captain Cockburn was ordered to join Captain Troubridge with 200 troops, a judge, and other civil officers, in La Minèrve. The judge arrived, but he was timid. Troubridge says of him, "The poorest creature I ever saw; frightened out of his senses, says *seventy families are concerned*, and talks of it being necessary to have a bishop to degrade the priests, before he can execute them. I told him to hang them first, and if he did not think the degradation of hanging sufficient, I would."[1]

To Lady Hamilton on the same subject he writes:—

"April 13, (1799).

"My dear Madam,

"I am to thank you for your two very obliging letters. I have given the old Judge all the *wholesome* advice I am master of, and to-morrow he means to *begin*. You shall know how he behaves. I feel highly honoured by her Majesty's notice; I wish I could serve them more *essentially* and *quick*. They may rely on every exertion in my power. Communication with Naples gets more difficult. The volumes of papers and edicts the Queen expected to be collected by Gronata and others were not continued. Lalo is not employed. Caracciolo is President of the Marine; I hope he has been forced to accept of it. We shall hear more soon. By the French not talking of any successes, I am convinced the Germans are

[1] Nelson Papers, quoted in Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 333, Note.

doing well. The want of information in this country, and indolence of the people to get it, is beyond all conception. I beg my best compliments to Sir William. Believe me, dear Madam,

"Your ever obliged and obedient servant,

"T. TROUBRIDGE.

"I forward your Ladyship a large packet of papers."

On the 5th of April, Lord Nelson ordered a salute to be fired to celebrate the victories of the Austrians over the French. An eccentric man, the Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, communicates intelligence of these battles in the following letter to Lady Hamilton:—

"Venice, 28th March, 1799.

"Hip! Hip! Hip!

"Huzza! Huzza! Huzza!

"For dearest Emma! those doubly damn'd miscreants—first as French, 2nd as *Reps*—have thrown *doublets*, and within these few days been beat—aye, completely beaten twice.

"General Lusignan arrived the night before last, at the Golden Eagle at Padua, where I had been lounging away a month among Greek and Latin professors. The General, according to his age and dignity, was gone to bed tired, but I saw his aide-de-camp, who like all others of his rank, preferred supper to sleep, just as my aides-de-camp, vulgarly called *chaplains*, usually do after a journey of seventy or eighty miles.

"This aide-de-camp speaking nothing but German, I summoned my dragoman to interpret, and he told us he had met Prince Charles's couriers going to Vienna with intelligence that the French had attacked either his left or his right wing—to us bishops it matters as little as if it had been the wing of a fat capon—that Prince Charles had made a decisive manœuvre, cut off this left or right wing from the rest of the body, and totally defeated it, so that it was repassing the Rhine.

"So much for Buckingham, as Richard says. But yesterday, at nine o'clock in the morning, just as I was mounting my Rosinante to come off for Venice, arrives an officer full gallop from the army at Legnago, and proceeding to Vienna

with an account that they had attacked and totally defeated the French army, taken 5000 prisoners, who might better be called deserters, and laid dead on the field 3000 more, and were then in pursuit of the rest. And what is curious is, that on that very day, being myself at *Este*, my servant cried out, 'My Lord, the French and Austrians are at it, for I hear the cannonading;' and so indeed we did very distinctly.

"Seventeen thousand Russians are now on this side *Goritz*, but I cannot learn with certainty whether they embark at Trieste for Ancona, or proceed by land for Rovigo and Ferrara. God grant them success wheresoever they go. In the meantime, if you can get our dear, invaluable Queen to give me a short introductory letter to Prince Charles, I have matters of great moment and characters of great importance to communicate to him.

"Of the three demi-brigades with which I made acquaintance during my nine months abode at Milan, there are not ten privates who are not Royalists, and of the gens d'armes who guarded me night and day, all the officers but ONE, a mason by trade, and all the privates without exception, are zealous Royalists, and execrate the Directory, and all these universally advise the carrying the war into the south of France, and especially to carry Louis XVIII. with one of the armies, as above two-thirds of the Republican army would go over to him. This was the general opinion, and such was the sentiment of Colonel Marion, Commandant de la Place at Ferrara, and now at Mantua, a natif of La Lorraine Allemande. Sweet Emma, adieu. My direction is '————, Augsburg, poste restante.'"

Lord Nelson wrote to Sir Charles Whitworth, at this time British Minister at St. Petersburgh, acquainting his Excellency that the blockade of La Valetta had been carried on at no less expense than £15,000. a month; that the garrison was mutinous; that scurvy prevailed among them to a great degree, and that they were in dreadful want of provisions. It was therefore only needful for Russian troops to make their appearance on the island to effect its immediate surrender. Captain Ball, whose conduct had been so unexceptionable and conciliatory towards the Maltese, that he had been unani-

mously elected by the islanders their General and Chief, had been ordered by Nelson to co-operate with the Russians. "If 9 or 10,000 troops (says Nelson) come to us, Naples will be recovered in a week, and his Imperial Majesty will have the glory of replacing a good Monarch and an amiable Queen on their throne again."

Nelson's conduct regarding Malta met with the approbation of those who had the management of affairs at home. This was communicated to him by Earl Spencer, to whom he replied on the 6th of April, expressing an opinion on Malta, which has been considered rather extraordinary. He writes, "To say the truth, the possession of Malta, by England, would be an useless and enormous expense; yet any expense should be incurred, rather than let it remain in the hands of the French. Therefore, as I did not trouble myself about the establishing again the Order of St. John at Malta, Sir William Hamilton has the assurance from his Sicilian Majesty that he will never cede the sovereignty of the island to any power, without the consent of his Britannic Majesty. The poor islanders have been so grievously oppressed by the Order, that many times have we been pressed to accept of the island for Great Britain; and I know if we had, his Sicilian Majesty would have been contented. But, as I said before, I attach no value to it for us; but it is a place of such consequence to the French, that any expense ought to be incurred to drive them out."[1]

The following paper, entitled "Lord Viscount Nelson's Thoughts on Malta," and in the handwriting of Lady Hamilton, apparently from dictation, may be interesting in this place. It bears no date, but according to a letter in Sir H. Nicolas's collection of Dispatches and Letters,[2] was written to the Right Hon. Henry Addington, from Merton, December 4th, 1802:—

"ON MALTA.

"It must never belong to France. England does not want it. If Russia will not guarantee Malta, then a new negotiation must be set on foot, and we must hold fast until it is settled. But if Russia will guarantee Malta, then it will become a serious consideration in the new state of the Order,

[1] Letter Book. [2] Vol. v. p. 36.

whether it can be carried into effect. Malta is materially changed since the Treaty of Amiens, by Spain having (in breach of that Treaty) taken away a great part of that revenue which was to support the expenses of the Order, and if one power can do it, another can do the same, and the Order of Malta, unable to maintain itself, falls of course.

"N.B.—It is easy to see from whose advice Spain has acted; other countries may follow the same advice.

"The Order of Malta cannot, in keeping the fortifications in repair, ships, galleys, &c., be kept up for less than the former revenue, and by the introduction of the new Langue, the pride of the Spaniards will not allow them, nor even the Italians, to enter into the Order; and they brought a vast accession of flowing wealth to the Order, which now will fail.

"Under these circumstances, it becomes a consideration what can be done with it to accord to the spirit of the Treaty of Amiens, that neither France nor England shall possess it.

"The King of the Two Sicilies is the acknowledged Lord of the Island; even the Maltese, after the destruction of the Order, in their addresses, style themselves his subjects; therefore, on the face of the act, there could be no objection to giving it to him; but the consideration is how a weak State can keep it out of the power of so powerful a one as France;—only, by guarantees that the King of the Two Sicilies shall hold Malta on the same terms as the Order (if it is possible that it shall always remain neutral), and tied up by the guarantee that on no consideration of exchange of territory shall it be given up. The Emperor of Russia having guaranteed all the King of Naples' dominions last year, will not probably object to do the same for Malta. It is so much the interest of the King of the Two Sicilies to keep Malta from France (for he would lose Sicily if he gave it up), that I think him, under guarantees, the most proper person to have it. France could not object, by the spirit of the Treaty of Amiens, to its being placed (the Order not being possible to be restored) in the King of Naples' hands, under the same restrictions, and this country would save 300,000 a year, and, by as far as human faith and foresight can go, keep Malta out of the hands of France.

"The King of Naples can wish for neither France or England to possess Malta. By the first, he must lose Sicily;

by the latter, he may be involved in a war about Malta, should France and England go to war: and this, in my opinion, could be the only rational inducement for the King of Naples to pay the great expense of holding Malta.

"If neither of these plans can be accomplished, we have no choice but to keep Malta.

"*Note*—When I was instructed by Lord Grenville to consider the Emperor of Russia as Grand Master of the Order, in my correspondence with him on the situation of Malta, I represented to him the tyranny of the Order over the inhabitants, and presumed to recommend, in order that they should be reconciled to the return of the Order, that he would direct them to be assured that they should be eligible to be elected to any office in the Island. He directly ordered his Minister at Naples to go to Malta, and to assure this boon to the inhabitants; and Chevalier Italinski went and returned in one of our ships. This, perhaps, considering the pride of the Knights, was all that could be obtained. The Spaniards already term the Maltese Langue, the shopkeeper Langue."

Captain Ball's duty was a very arduous, a very distressing, and a very lengthened one. The Maltese were starving, and he could obtain but very inefficient supplies for them. Money could not be raised, and provisions were not to be obtained. Captain Ball parted with the greatest portion of his flour to supply their wants. At length the Queen of Naples gave 7000 ounces to the relief of their necessities.

Coleridge justly observes,[1] that although "the very existence of Naples and Sicily, as a nation, depended wholly and exclusively on British support, though the Royal family owed their personal safety to the British fleet, though not only their dominions and their rank, but the liberty, and even lives of Ferdinand and his family, were interwoven with our success; yet with an infatuation scarcely credible, the most affecting representations of the distress of the besiegers, and of the utter insecurity of Sicily, if the French remained possessors of Malta, were treated with neglect; and the urgent remonstrances for the permission of importing corn from

[1] The Friend, Vol. iii. p. 332.

Messina, were answered only by sanguinary edicts precluding all supply. Sir Alexander Ball sent for his senior Lieutenant, and gave him orders to proceed immediately to the Port of Messina, and there to seize, and bring with him to Malta, the ships laden with corn, of the number of which Sir Alexander had received accurate information. These orders were executed without delay, to the great delight of the shipowners and proprietors; the necessity of raising the siege was removed, and the author of the measure waited in calmness for the consequences that might result to himself personally. But not a complaint, not a murmur proceeded from the Court of Naples. The sole result was, that the Governor of Malta became an especial object of its hatred, its fear, and its respect."

The many operations now carrying on, and the great increase of correspondence occasioned by them, led Nelson to neglect his private affairs. Complaint of this appears to have been made by Lady Nelson, as the following letter seems to imply:—

"Palermo, April 10th, 1799.

"My dear Fanny,

"Yesterday brought me your letters of December; they had been stopped in Italy, and now came by way of Venice. I had three days ago received two of February 5th and 11th. You must not think it possible for me to write even to you so much as I used to do. In truth, I have such quantities of writing public letters, that my private correspondence has been, and must continue to be, greatly neglected. You would by February have seen how unpleasant it would have been had you followed *any* advice, which carried you from England to a wandering sailor. I could, if you had come, *only* have struck my flag, and carried you back again, for it would have been impossible to have set up an establishment at either Naples or Palermo. Nothing but the situation of affairs in this country has kept me from England; and if I have the happiness of seeing their Sicilian Majesties safe on their throne again, it is probable I shall yet be home in the summer. Good Sir William, Lady Hamilton, and myself, are the mainsprings of the machine, which manage what is

going on in this country. We are all bound to England when we can quit our posts with propriety.

"As to my entering into the situation of affairs with Mr. Suckling,[1] and his numerous family: in the first place, I never knew of his death till I read it in a magazine, and as yet the other executors have never wrote me a line. However, if I can be useful by acting to his family, I feel myself bound by every tie of gratitude, to do it, and on that account I am not sorry that he has disappointed the expectations of many that he would have left me something considerable. I always loved and respected my dear Uncle while living, and shall do the same now he is dead. Josiah is now in full possession of a noble frigate. He has sent to say that he is sensible of his youthful follies, and that he shall alter his whole conduct. I sincerely wish he may, both for his and your sake. You will not, I am sure, forget me to Mr. Hamilton when you write, nor to our friends at Bristol. As to our dear Father, say every thing which is kind, and also to my sister, and Mr. Matcham, and believe me,

"Your most affectionate

"NELSON."

He had also been troubled by some complaint made against his step-son, which had called for a strong remonstrance on the part of the Earl of St. Vincent, to whom he writes from Palermo, June 5th:—"I hope her (Thalia) Captain will improve, and do every thing we wish him."

The following letter bears reference to this matter:—

"Thalia, May 4th, off Malta.

"Dear Father,

"I am sorry to find from Mr. Tyson's letter, that you thought I was very imprudent in messing in the gun-room, which I had not the least idea of doing, only until I got to Palermo, where I could fit myself out. I have now determined to do every thing in my power to deserve the unmerited promotion which you have given me, and hope

[1] William Suckling, Esq. Clerk of Foreign Entries, and afterwards Deputy Collector Inwards of the Custom House. He died December 15, 1798, at the age of 69 years, at Kentish Town, leaving Lord Nelson a legacy of £100. and appointing him one of his executors. Lord Nelson signed powers of attorney, and expressed to Mrs. Suckling his desire to fulfil the wishes of his uncle.

my endeavours for the future will always meet with your approbation, as you are the only person on earth who has my interest truly at heart, and I trust and hope my future conduct will effectually do away my former folly. I have been off Lanosa, and have taken two vessels, by one of which I shall send this letter to-morrow. Captain Ball has given me another cruise off Lanosa, and I hope we shall take something more.

"And believe me, dear Father,

"Your affectionate son,

"J. NISBET."

Sir Sidney Smith gave up the blockade of Alexandria, and proceeded to the head-quarters of Buonaparte, at St. Jean d'Acre, on the 7th of March; and in April, three or four frigates, and as many corvettes, made their escape from Alexandria. In May, Lord Nelson received intelligence that the French fleet, from Brest, had been seen off Oporto; and he thereupon determined to put to sea, conjecturing their object to be to join the Spanish fleet, and act against Minorca and Sicily. To act against the enemy efficiently, however, it was necessary to reinforce his squadron, but he was unable to sail until the 20th, when he departed for Maritimo, either to obtain reinforcements there, or to proceed to Minorca, should that appear to be the destination of the French fleet.

On the day preceding his departure, Lord Nelson calls to remembrance the delightful attentions paid to him at Naples, and to Lady Hamilton he writes thus:—"To tell you how dreary and uncomfortable the Vanguard appears, is only telling you what it is to go from the pleasantest society to a solitary cell; or, from the dearest friends, to no friends. I am now perfectly the *great man*—not a creature near me. From my heart I wish myself the little man again!"[1] And on the 20th:—"Many thanks to you and Sir William for your kind notes. You will believe I did not sleep much, with all my letters to read, &c. My letters from Lord St. Vincent are May 6th. He says, 'We saw the Brest squadron pass us yesterday, under an easy sail. I am making every

[1] Letters of Lord Nelson, Vol. i. p. 9.

effort to get information to Lord Keith, who I have ordered here to complete their water and provisions. I conjecture the French squadron is bound for Malta and Alexandria, and the Spanish fleet for the attack of Minorca.'

"I must leave you to judge whether the Earl will come to us. I think he will: but, *entre nous*, Mr. Duckworth means to leave me to my fate. I send you (*under all circumstances*) his letter. Never mind; if I can get my eleven sail together, they shall not hurt me."[1]

At the same time Lady Hamilton received the following from the Queen of Naples:—

"Palermo, May 19th, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"That God may be with our brave and virtuous Admiral is my sincere prayer. Believe me I feel for the affliction you must experience, and I shall see you to-morrow with great pleasure. Try to take some repose and sleep. Cardinal Ruffo had to fight against Altamura for three days, but at last he took it. A boat from Messina reports having heard that the Russian squadron has embarked troops at Calamotta destined for us. Ruffo also writes that there are 119 sail, Russian and Turkish, in the Adriatic, but that appears exaggerated to me. All my thoughts and wishes are with, and for, our valorous Admiral; and believe me, my dear dear Emma, your sincere, attached, and eternally grateful friend. A thousand compliments to our brave and worthy Chevalier."

"Palermo, May 20th, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"A thousand thanks for the news; let us hope for more particulars in the course of the day. I also suffer through the departure of our dear virtuous Admiral. I am obliged to go to the convent, but will try to be home before night. How I feel for you. We are on the eve of a very important crisis. Entirely yours till death.

"A thousand compliments to the dear Chevalier."

"My dear Lady,

"I thank you for your note, and am sorry to have inconvenienced you. I keep you company, having a fever and pains

[1] Ibid. Vol. i. p. 11.

in my head. I beg you to inform me why Keith is come, and what force he brings, and if the French and Spanish squadron has left, and where it is. I hope my dear virtuous Lord Nelson will not encounter any thing unpleasant. If your health permits, my dear Emma, send me two lines as to why Keith is come, and his force, and if the squadron has left Brest. I am ill from a second attack of fever, but am, until death, your attached and grateful friend.

"A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, and to our hero Nelson. I shall be inconsolable should he be caused any uneasiness. Adieu."

From the Letter Book,[1] it appears that Lord Nelson acquired his intelligence respecting the French fleet, by the arrival of L'Espoir at Palermo, on the 12th; and among his papers, there is the following letter from Evan Nepean, Esq., Secretary to the Admiralty, to Sir Sidney Smith, which appears to have been transmitted to his Lordship, by J. Spencer Smith, Esq., who has marked it as "A copy secret for Lord Nelson:"—

"Admiralty Office, 4th May, 1799.

"Sir,

"As it may happen that from some unforeseen event you may be disappointed in receiving the information which Lord Nelson is directed to forward to you of the sailing of the enemy's fleet from Brest, my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have judged it proper, that I should inclose this Dispatch to his Majesty's Minister at Constantinople, with a desire that he may take the speediest method of conveying it to you.

"By the advices received from Admiral Lord Bridport, dated off Ushant, the 29th of last month, it appears that the enemy's fleet had sailed from Brest on the morning of the preceding day, unobserved, excepting by one of his frigates; and such were the circumstances of the state of the weather at the moment, that the Commander of the frigate could form no judgment of the extent of the force, nor of the course it afterwards steered. According to the information received by Lord Bridport from the Commanders of two of his Majesty's ships which he had sent to reconnoitre the

[1] Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 352.

Port of Brest on the preceding day, the enemy's force was supposed to consist of 18 or 19 ships of the line at most, and 8 or 10 frigates and sloops, but of this there is no absolute certainty; as it is possible (if the object of the enemy should be to pass the Straits), that this squadron may elude the vigilance of Lord St. Vincent and proceed up the Mediterranean, it seems to be highly necessary that you should take every proper measure of precaution against a surprise. It is to be hoped, from his Lordship's activity and zeal, that the enemy's squadron, even though it should pass the Straits, will not be able to do any considerable mischief before his Lordship will be in a situation to follow it; but, however that may be, there can be no doubt of the propriety of your adopting the system of precaution herein recommended, which may be done without interfering in any degree with the execution of the important service committed to your care.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"EVAN NEPEAN.

"To Captain Sir Sidney Smith,
Commanding Officer of His Majesty's
Ships on the Coast of Egypt."

Nelson's usual activity manifested itself on this occasion, and there are extant letters of the date of the 12th, addressed to Rear-Admiral Duckworth, Captain Troubridge, Captain Ball, and the Earl of St. Vincent, on the subject, and the arrangements necessary to be made. Nelson was very uneasy lest there should be a battle fought during his absence, and on the 13th, he wrote to Earl St. Vincent: "Should you come upwards without a battle, I hope in that case you will afford me an opportunity of joining you; for my heart would break to be near my Commander-in-chief, and not assisting him in such a time. What a state I am in! If I go, I risk, and more than risk, Sicily, and what is now safe on the Continent; for we know, from experience, that more depends on *opinion* than on acts themselves. As I stay, my heart is breaking; and, to mend the matter, I am seriously unwell."

Nelson remained at Maritimo until the 28th. He was much

out of health, and on the 26th wrote the following letter to Lady Hamilton:—

"May 26th, 1799.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"Many, many thanks for your letters, but as neither of ours can go by post, we must trust to the mercy of a boatman, who cares not for our anxiety. I send you the passports for the vessels, only tell me how I can be most useful and that is enough—the thing is done. There is not a vessel in sight, therefore I can send you nothing new. Pray do not trouble yourself to send me fruit, for to say the truth, I have no stomach for eating. May God Almighty bless you and all my friends about you, and believe me amongst the most faithful and affectionate of your friends,

"NELSON.

"I have no boat with me, therefore I cannot send again till one comes."

The French fleet passed the Straits of Gibraltar. Earl St. Vincent saw the Brest squadron on the 5th, and conjectured it to be bound for Malta and Alexandria, and the Spanish fleet for the attack on Minorca. Nelson determined upon raising the blockade of Malta, and concentrating all his forces off Maritimo. He, however, wrote to Captain Ball on the 28th to countermand his orders of the 13th, and to direct that the blockade should be recommenced with the Alexander, Audacious, or Goliath, Bonne Citoyenne, Strombolo, and Benjamin, and to prevent the escape of any French ships out of Malta until the Russian ships should arrive. In a letter to J. Spencer Smith, Esq. June 5th, he sums up the movements of the fleet thus: "Briefly, on April the 25th, the French fleet sailed from Brest; 19 of the line, frigates, &c.; and from Corunna and Ferrol five Spanish ships joined. They passed the Gut on May 5th. On the 12th, they were seen past Minorca, with their heads pointed for Toulon. Lord St. Vincent left Gibraltar on the 8th, his force 20 sail of the line. On the 15th, I have letters from the last off Minorca, to say he was going to endeavour to prevent the junction. This is the whole I know. I had for two days called the ships off Malta, but they are returned to it again. Naples is also

completely cut off from all communication from sea. I have been for many months expecting the 3000 Russian troops for Malta, where I know the French General intended to try to make off with the ships, and for the garrison to capitulate."[1]

The state of Earl St. Vincent's health compelled him to return home, which distressed Nelson greatly. He wrote to his Commander-in-chief from Palermo, June 10: "We have a report that you are going home. This distresses us most exceedingly, and myself in particular; so much so, that I have serious thoughts of retiring, if that event should take place. But for the sake of our country, do not quit us at this serious moment. I wish not to detract from the merit of whoever may be your successor; but it must take a length of time, which I hope the war will not give, to be in any manner a St. Vincent. We look up to you, as we have always found you, as to our father, under whose fostering care we have been led to fame. If, my dear Lord, I have any weight in your friendship, let me entreat you to rouse the sleeping lion. Give not up one particle of your authority to any one; be again our St. Vincent, and we shall be happy."[2] And again:

"June 12, 1799, 9 o'clock at night.

"My dear Lord, our St. Vincent!

"What have we suffered in hearing of your illness, and of your return to Mahon! Let me entreat you to come to us with a force fit to fight. We will search the French out, and either in Leghorn, Espezia, or Naples, we will have at them. We shall have so much pleasure in fighting under the eye of our ever great and good Earl. If you are sick, I will fag for you, and our dear Lady Hamilton will nurse you with the most affectionate attention. Good Sir William will make you laugh with his wit and inexhaustible pleasantry: we all love you; come, then, to your sincere friends—let us get you well; it will be such a happiness to us all; amongst the foremost to your attached, faithful and affectionate,

"NELSON."[3]

The Earl, however, felt himself "incapable of any ser-

[1] From a copy in the Nelson Papers. Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 373.
[2] Tucker's Memoirs of Earl St. Vincent, Vol. i. p. 481. [3] Ibid.

vice," and resigned his command to Lord Keith[1] on the 16th of June. The condition of affairs at Naples was such, that

[1] The Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Keith, was the son of Charles Lord Elphinstone, who died in January, 1799. He was born in 1746, and entered the navy in 1762, under Captain Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent. After various services in India, China, and the Mediterranean, he rose to be Post Captain in 1775, and served in America under Lord Howe. He was at the reduction of Charlestown with Admiral Arbuthnot; and on his return from America was appointed to the Warwick, of 50 guns, in which he had as a Midshipman his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, and captured a Dutch man-of-war in 1781, whilst cruising in the Channel. He also, on the North American station, in the next year, captured a large French frigate. Returning to England, he remained unemployed from the Peace of 1783, representing Stirlingshire in Parliament, until hostilities took place in France, in 1793, when he was ordered to join Lord Hood in the Mediterranean. Off Toulon he landed the troops at Fort La Malgue, and displayed much valour and ability. He was in the action of the 1st of October, 1793, of the combined British, Spanish, and Neapolitan forces, at the heights of Pharon, where the flower of the Eastern army was destroyed. In the evacuation of Toulon, he also distinguished himself, and was rewarded with the Order of the Bath for his services. He became Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1794; then of the White, and hoisted his flag in the Barfleur, 98 guns, and was in the Channel Fleet. In the following year he went to the Cape of Good Hope, which, after several attacks, was surrendered up to the British. The Dutch made an attempt to regain possession in 1796, and a force was brought for that object into Saldanha Bay; a capitulation was, however, entered into, and occupation maintained, unattended with the loss of human life, and the Dutch squadron given up. For his services at the Cape, Sir G. K. Elphinstone was, March 7th, 1797, advanced to the dignity of a Baron of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the title of Lord Keith; and having been employed to superintend the proceedings relating to the mutiny at the Nore, he hoisted his flag on board the Queen Charlotte, and sailed for the Channel. The retirement of Earl St. Vincent from the command of this station, gave to Lord Keith the appointment of Commander-in-chief, and he was also promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Red. He had the misfortune to lose his ship, the Queen Charlotte, one of the finest in the service, by fire, in the Leghorn Roads, on the 17th of March, 1800. He was fortunately absent on shore at the time, when 600 brave fellows unhappily perished. He now hoisted his flag on board the Audacious, and afterwards the Minotaur, and sailed for Genoa to prevent the admission of supplies to the French garrison, then under the command of General Massena. This service was so effectually rendered, that the French General was obliged to capitulate to the Austrian army under General Melas.

In 1801, Lord Keith was made Admiral of the Blue, commanded on board the Foudroyant, and was actively engaged against the French on the coast of Egypt. Upon the surrender of the French army in Egypt, he was created a Peer of Great Britain, received the thanks of Parliament, and the Freedom of the City of London, with a sword of the value of 100 guineas. Upon the renewal of the war with France, in 1803, Lord Keith was nominated to the command of all his Majesty's ships in the North Sea, and in the English Channel, as far to the west-

the King wrote to Lord Nelson on the 10th, describing its state, and entreating him to proceed thither with his squadron. The Queen, through Lady Hamilton, urged his return, and he acceded to their wishes. Nelson had removed to the Foudroyant on the 8th; and on the 13th, the Hereditary Prince, who had been placed at the head of the Generals, and instructed to act according to the advice of Nelson, came on board, when the squadron departed for Naples.

The following letters, from the Queen of Naples, were written at this time:—

TO LORD NELSON.

"June 11th, 1799.

"My Lord,

"As a Queen, but still more as a mother, I urge the expedition about to take place, upon you. It will be an additional obligation to those we profess already to owe you. Notwithstanding I have been so misunderstood there, I still regard the ungrateful city, and solicit your forbearance. I hope that the imposing force by sea, and their being surrounded on all sides, will be sufficient, without shedding blood, to induce them to return to their allegiance, for I would even spare my enemies. (*Car je désire que cela ne coute point de Sang, celui de mes Ennemis même, m'étant précieux.*) I beg you will favour me with frequent news. I commend my son to you, who feels happy and honoured by being on board your ship, under your direction. Adieu, my Lord. It would have been highly agreeable to me to have made the passage and voyage with my son, but other duties oblige me to remain. I shall not cease to offer my prayers to heaven for the success of your enterprise, and your speedy return, that I may have the pleasure of assuring you of my constant esteem, and of the sincere and profound gratitude of your devoted friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

ward as Selsea-Bill, which appointment he held until 1807. In 1812 he was again appointed to the command of the Channel Fleet; and in 1814 made a Viscount of the United Kingdom. In the following year he laid the first stone of the Southwark Bridge, from his connection, by marriage, it may be presumed, with Hester Maria, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Henry Thrale, of Streatham, the friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson, and Member of Parliament for Southwark, in 1768 and 1775. He died March 9, 1823, having then attained the rank of Admiral of the Red and Grand Commander of the Order of the Bath.

TO LADY HAMILTON.

"Palermo, June 11th, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I hope that your dear health is good. I live in a constant state of anxiety for news, which may be expected every hour. A speronara brought us the news. I send you the original letter, for you and your husband to read, and then return it to me this evening, early enough for me to dispatch it to the King. It would appear by this, that a second English squadron had entered the Mediterranean. May it please God that they should unite, and meet with the infamous Republicans, and destroy them. I must give utterance to my sentiments. Good night, my dear Lady; take care of your health, and confide in my constant friendship. Adieu."

TO THE SAME.

"June 12th, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"By the King's order, and for his service, a small vessel (of which I send you the name) is going with letters. It ought to have left yesterday, and I was not a little surprised to see it still here. It takes important answers to St. Elmo. Pray recommend the poor Governor of Ischia to Foote[1]—a

[1] Captain, afterwards Vice-Admiral Sir Edward James Foote. This officer was born in 1767, and in 1791 appointed Commander of the Atalante sloop, and served in the West Indies. He returned to England in 1792, and upon the breaking out of the war, was commissioned to the Thorn of 16 guns. In June, 1794, he was made a Post Captain. He assisted in the capture of a French convoy in 1795, and was engaged in the following year in the destruction of L'Ecuriel, near the Penmarks. He was in the battle off Cape St. Vincent, Feb. 14th, 1797, and after the battle, appointed to the Seahorse, and cruised off the coast of Ireland. He afterwards served in the Mediterranean, and took a French frigate of 36 guns off the island of Pantellaria. This frigate had on board a General of Division and his suite, together with passengers bound for Toulon, conveying an account of the capture of Malta by General Buonaparte. In 1799, he was employed by Nelson in the blockade of Naples, and co-operated with the land forces under Cardinal Ruffo. The capitulation which he had, with the Cardinal, entered into, for the delivery of the Castles of Nuovo and Uovo, being set aside by Lord Nelson, the Captain published a vindication of his conduct, and established his character for ability and integrity. Although Nelson repudiated the treaty, he never disputed Captain Foote's zeal or honour. He suspected the honesty of the Cardinal, conceived him to entertain designs hostile to the true interests of his Sovereign, and denied his power to make terms with the rebels. The following condensed account of Captain Foote's proceedings at this time will

great cabal is raised against him. I have this moment received your letter, and hope that your resolution will prove beneficial to your health. I very much wish to see you again to-night, even alone, if the Admiral and your husband are engaged. Adieu. I confide in your friendship in every thing. Adieu. You shall have all you wish. We shall be

elucidate this subject: "On the 18th of June, 1799, having strengthened his little squadron with several gun and mortar-boats, Captain Foote drew up before Castel dell'Uovo; but, previously to attacking it, he dispatched Captain James Oswald, of the Perseus, with a letter, proffering conditions to the French Commandant. To this a magniloquent refusal was returned, '*Nous voulons la République une et indivisible: nous mourrerons pour elle. Voilà votre réponse. Eloignez-vous, citoyen; vite! vite!*' Captain Foote, in compliance with his instructions, communicated this offensive reply to Ruffo, and announced his intention of immediately forcing the Frenchman to alter his note. In this the Cardinal appeared heartily to concur; but on the 19th Foote was surprised by a letter from his Eminence, after the attack had actually commenced, requesting him to cease hostilities, and not to recommence them while the flag of truce was flying, as a negotiation had taken place which was likely to end in a capitulation. Several hours of vehement suspense followed this armistice, and in the evening Captain Foote, whose patience was exhausted, sent an officer to remonstrate with the Cardinal, and represent that the British were not wont to grant so long a suspension of arms; and he moreover insisted upon his right to be informed of what was going on. The Cardinal replied, that Micheroux, the Russian Minister, conducted the treaty, and referred the Captain to him for further particulars; but Foote insisted that he was only instructed to act with the Cardinal, as the man intrusted with the King's interests. On the following morning, he received from his Eminence the draft of a capitulation, already signed by him and the Russian General, with a request that he would also affix his signature to the document. Captain Foote did so, to avoid throwing any obstacle in the way of the Royal interests; but at the same time stated that he thought the terms rather favourable to the enemy."—*(Nelson's Second Visit to Naples, by Captain W. H. Smyth.)* In a severe gale in July of 1799, off Leghorn, whither Captain Foote had been sent on a particular service, his vessel, the Seahorse, was so disabled as to be obliged to be towed into Leghorn mole, and in October sent to England for repairs. His Sicilian Majesty presented Captain Foote with a snuff-box, having the initials F.R. set in diamonds, as a recognition of his services at Naples. In 1800, Captain Foote conveyed Sir Richard Bickerton and General Sir Ralph Abercromby to the Mediterranean. In 1801, he was in attendance upon George III. and Queen Charlotte at Weymouth, and he afterwards escorted 10 sail of East Indiamen to Calcutta. He returned to England, having very successfully exerted himself on the Indian station in the preservation of the stores and property in the Sensible frigate, which had been wrecked, and he was put out of commission Oct. 4, 1802. Aug. 12, 1812, he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and was second in command at Portsmouth until 1815. He attained the rank of Vice-Admiral, July 19, 1821, and died May 1833, a Vice-Admiral of the Red, and a Knight Commander of the Bath.

on board at break of day. I am very sad, but always your friend."

TO THE SAME.

"Palermo, June 18th, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"Returning from the convent, I heard the happy news that the Castles[1] were nearly taken, but that, though pardon had been offered to the scoundrels, they still continued fighting desperately at the palace, a portion of which they have destroyed. Some of them then fled, and the people are executing some of the remainder. What we need is a second 1st of August, an Aboukir, and our brave General. Let me have good news of you. Take care of your health, for I am very uneasy about it, and rely on the inviolable attachment and gratitude of your sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, and to the valorous Admiral, to whom I wish all happiness and glory."

TO THE SAME.

"June 24th, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"No letter from you, none from Naples, nor Procida. No signs of life from the Cardinal[2] since the 17th. No letter comes from Naples, nor Tschoudy, Micheroux, nor Dom Scipio. I am convinced (the delay is) that we may be informed all is done and finished. May it be for the best. I calculate on your coming with the squadron, and on the firmness of the Admiral. I have determined never to set my foot in Naples again if things are settled dishonourably, or so as to leave any fear of a relapse occurring subsequently. I trust all to you. The last letters from Procida are of the 20th, but from Naples of the 17th, and that at such a critical moment: they will astonish and distract the Cardinal, for they know how guilty all the upper class is, and they fear the effect of it. Nothing new here; they say Malta is near surrendering. Manfredini, who was not permitted to land in the Imperial State, is returning back to Messina. The Grand

[1] The castles of Nuovo and Uovo. [2] Cardinal Ruffo.

Duke has written, that they will not receive our Tuscan minister in the Imperial States, which makes Serate despair. They see a vessel off Messina, which I suppose to be the Queen of Portugal, which is taking the poor ladies to Trieste. They think Madame Victoire is dead; by the letters of Chateleux she was at the point of death. A Genoese arrived says, that the French squadron is pursued by the English, which would shew that they are at sea. This is all I know, but I expect more interesting news from you. I earnestly recommend our interests to your care. A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, to the dear Admiral; and believe me, from my heart, for life, your attached and grateful friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

TO THE SAME.

"June 25, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I have just received your dear letter without date from the ship, with the Chevalier's for the General.[1] I send back the same boat immediately, and wish it had wings to reach you the sooner. The General writes the wishes of the King, who incloses a note under his own hand for the dear Admiral. I accede entirely to their wishes, but cannot refrain from expressing my sentiments to you. The Cardinal wrote nothing from the 17th to the 21st of this month, but to-day he writes very shortly to the General, and not to us; he says little of the treaty, nothing of the operations, and names but slightly the persons he has appointed, several of whom are unworthy and doubtful, and cannot be allowed. The following conditions ought to form the basis, in the King's opinion and in mine, and we submit them to the excellent judgment and heart of our dear Admiral Nelson:—

"The rebels can receive no more aid from the French, either by land or sea; they are therefore completely at the mercy of their offended, betrayed, but merciful King; he offers them pardon repeatedly, but instead of accepting it, they madly resist. The Commandant of the Castel dell'Ovo replies to the written summons of the English Captain verbally, and with great insolence driving the boat away. They

[1] General Sir John Acton, Bart.

then sally out at night, and take some of our batteries, during the armistice. What is to be done then? To treat with such villanous rebels is impossible,—it must be put an end to. The sight of the brave English squadron is my hope. The garrison must first quit St. Elmo, and be escorted by an envoy (*parliamentaire*) to Marseilles or Toulon, and without any baggage. The rebel patriots must lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion to the pleasure of the King. Then, in my opinion, an example should be made of some of the leaders of the representatives, and the others to be transported under pain of death if they return into the dominions of the King, where a register will be kept of them; and of this number should be the Municipalists, Chiefs of Brigade, the most violent Clubbists, and seditious scribblers. No soldier who has served shall ever be admitted into the army; finally, a rigorous severity, prompt and just. The females who have distinguished themselves in the revolution to be treated in the same way, and that without pity. There is no need of a Cabinet Council (Giunta di Stato); it is not an undecided cause, but a palpable, proved fact. Either these rascals will surrender to the imposing force of the Admiral, or the troops and corps must be united, drawn if necessary from abroad; the frightened women and children must be warned to quit, and the two castles to be taken by force, the rules of war being followed with respect to those who are taken with them, and thus terminate a guilty and dangerous resistance. The Cardinal ought not to make any appointment without first naming it. The Sedile,[1] the source of all the evils, which first gave strength to the rebellion, and who have ruined the kingdom and dethroned the King, shall be abolished for ever, as well as the baronial privileges and jurisdiction, in order to ameliorate the slavery of a faithful people who have replaced their King upon the throne, from which treason, felony, and the culpable indifference of the nobles had driven him. This

[1] An annual sitting or assembly of the Neapolitan nobility, at which they discussed matters appertaining to their order and privileges. Every baron had his particular chair in imitation of a throne, the possession of which was a mark of nobility. There were two Sedile, one for the city called Sedile or San Giuseppe, and the other for the provinces, called Sedile del' Pennino. They were abolished by the King after his return from Sicily.

is not pleasant, but absolutely necessary, for without it the King could not govern quietly his people for six months, who hope for some recompense from his justice, after having done every thing for him. Finally, my dear Lady, I recommend Lord Nelson to treat Naples as if it were an Irish town in rebellion similarly placed. One must not object to the making France so much stronger by so many thousands of rascals; we shall be all the better. They merit being sent to Africa or the Crimea. It is a charity to send them to France; they deserve to be branded, that others may not be deceived by them. I recommend to you therefore, my dear Lady, the greatest firmness, vigour, and severity; our future tranquillity and position depend upon it—the faithful people desire it. I solicit frequent news from you, for you cannot conceive the anxiety I feel, and believe me for life your most tenderly attached and grateful friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"A thousand compliments to the Chevalier and to our hero Nelson."

Upon receiving intelligence from Lord Keith respecting the French fleet, Nelson returned to Palermo, landed the Prince, troops, &c. and on the 16th June made for Maritimo, having sixteen sail of the line, a fire-ship, a brig and a cutter. He was also in expectation of being joined by the Alexander and Goliath, and he wrote to Lord Keith to this effect, saying, "Not one moment shall be lost in bringing them to battle; for I consider the best defence for his Sicilian Majesty's dominions, is to place myself alongside the French." On the 18th and 19th he wrote to Lady Hamilton:—

"June 18th, 1799.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"Since I sent off the vessel yesterday forenoon, and dispatched the Telegraph brig to Lord St. Vincent, I have received not the smallest information. This morning brought us in sight of the Alexander and Goliath, and by noon they will have joined me. As to my feelings, my dear Lady, I know not how to express them; but I know how to feel them, for they have made me very unwell. Jefferson wants

to give me castor oil; but that will not smooth my an mind. I long to be at the French fleet as much as eve Miss longed for a husband, but prudence stops me. Ough I to risk giving the cursed French a chance of being mistress of the Mediterranean for one hour? I must have reinforcements very soon. Ah! Lord Keith, you have placed me in a situation to lower me in the eyes of Europe; they will say this cried-up Nelson is afraid with eighteen ships to attack twenty-two. The thought kills me. I know what I am equal to, and what ships and men can do, and I declare to God if no more ships could join me, that I would instantly search out the French fleet, and fight them; for, believe me, I have no fear but that of being lowered in the opinion of those I love and esteem.

"The Admiral, Troubridge, and Campbell dined here yesterday. They all love you and Sir William, and charge me to say so. Martin came after dinner, and amongst them they told such things of Palermo ladies, that I was all astonishment.

"I shall keep this letter open till Ball joins. Troubridge's pilot and wife wished to be considered as prisoners. She is a Jacobin, and threatened her husband to have him hanged as a Royalist. When I can get a good cargo they shall be off. Allen has left my *new* plain hat in the hat box. Pray send it; and I take the liberty of sending a cover to be washed, for I am in the midst of dirt and filth. Poor Hardy is very unwell, he and Tyson, they are taking physic. Pray say everything kind for me to Mrs. Cadogan, Mr. Graeffer, the children, Gibbs, Noble, &c. Emma is very well, and growing fat and saucy: she goes to all parts of the ship at the different meal times. She seems to prefer roast goose to all other things. To the Queen you will, I am sure, say everything which is proper. Answer for my attachment, and that I will fight in defence of her crown and dominions whenever the proper time arrives, and that the d—d French shall not get Sicily with their fleet but through my heart's blood. May the God of Heaven bless you, and be assured I am your faithful and affectionate friend,

"NELSON.

"No boats remaining—Ball and Foley on board."

"June 19th, 1799.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"Sir William's packet came last night at ten o'clock, and although the public news was good, it gave me great pain to hear both Sir William and yourself were so very unwell. I wrote Sir William yesterday that if you both thought the sea air would do you good, I have plenty of room. I can make for you private apartments, and I give you my honour the sea is so smooth, that no glass was smoother. I am anxious to hear of the French fleet's return to Toulon, for there they will return, for we have no fleet to stop them. I should instantly send one half the fleet under Duckworth, off Malta, which would secure its surrender, and with the other go to Naples, that their Majesties may settle matters there, and *take off* (if necessary, the head of) the Cardinal.[1] Nothing in sight. A fresh west wind, quite cool. May God bless you, get well, and believe me ever your most affectionate friend,

"NELSON.

"Kind regards to Mrs. Cadogan, Graeffer and the children. Wind fresh at west and cool."

Captain Ball, who had joined him in the Alexander, writes upon the same sheet:—"My Lord Nelson's kindness allows me to assure Sir William and Lady Hamilton of my unalterable esteem and regard. I am this moment come on board of the Foudroyant, and I feel happy in having joined in time to fight under his Lordship's banners. Lord Keith has given us a hard task, but I feel sanguine that our dear friend will be followed by fortune, which will crown him with additional laurels. Foley sends his best regards. God bless you.

"Your ever obliged and devoted

"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL.

"Foudroyant, 18th June, 1799."

A dispatch from Lord Keith on the 20th induced Nelson to return to Palermo, where he embarked the Hereditary Prince, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and then made sail for Naples. Arrived off Ischia, he heard of the capitulation for the surrender of the Castles of Uovo and Nuovo[2]—an-

[1] Cardinal Ruffo.

[2] The Castel Nuovo was built by Charles of Anjou in the thirteenth century,

nulled the signal of truce flying on the Castles, and on board the Seahorse, Captain Foote, who, together with Cardinal Ruffo, and the Commanders of the Russian and Turkish forces had entered into a capitulation on the 23rd. Nelson arrived on the 24th, when from the absence of ships necessary to convey the garrisons of the castles, and the Neapolitans who had taken refuge in them, the conditions of the treaty had not been carried into effect. The conditions of capitulation were, that the persons and property of the garrisons and Neapolitan refugees should be guaranteed, and that they should, at their own option, either be sent to Toulon, or remain at Naples without being molested either in their persons or families. Nelson proposed to the Cardinal to send in their joint names to the French and rebels, that the arrival of the British fleet had completely destroyed the compact, as would that of the French, if they had had the power to come to Naples. Therefore that it should be fixed, that in two hours the French should give possession of the Castle of St. Elmo to his Sicilian Majesty's faithful subjects, and the troops of his allies; on which condition alone they should be sent to France without the stipulation of their being prisoners of war. That as to rebels and traitors, no power on earth had a right to stand between their gracious King and them: they must instantly throw themselves on the clemency of their sovereign, for no other terms would be allowed them: nor would the French be allowed even to name them in any capitulation. If these terms were not complied with in the time above mentioned, viz. two hours for the French, and instant submission on the part of the rebels—such very favourable conditions would never again be offered.[1] This was read to, explained to, and rejected by Cardinal Ruffo, who had been expressly commanded by the King not to treat with the rebels. Nelson was, however, determined that he would agree to no terms but those of unconditional

and communicated with the King's palace and the arsenal, serving as a place of refuge for the Sovereign and Governors of Naples in times of civil war and insurrections. The Castel Uovo was erected by the Emperor Frederic II. These castles form the principal sea defence of the city; possession of them was therefore of the first importance.

[1] From a copy in the State Paper Office and Order Book, printed in Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 384.

submission, and the garrisons and refugees were accordingly removed from the Castles, and delivered over to the mercy of the Sicilian Court.

The Republicans in these Castles held out in the expectation of being relieved by the French fleet. Nelson deplored the want of activity on the part of the Neapolitan Government. In a letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, he states that the King had ordered two Generals to be tried for cowardice and treason, and that, if found guilty, they should be hanged; but he doubted their willingness to carry such a sentence into effect; but, if executed, that he should have some hopes of having done some good there, feeling that "to reward or punish, according to the merits of the case, is the only foundation of good government."

The following document is important in illustration of this proceeding. It consists of a copy of the Articles of Capitulation, which had been given to the Queen of Naples, and to each separate article her Majesty has affixed her observations.

"CAPITULATION OF THE CASTLES NUOVO AND DELL' OVO.

"ART. 1.—The Castles Nuovo and dell' Ovo shall be consigned to the Commanders of the troops of his Majesty, the King of the Two Sicilies, and his Allies the King of England, and the Emperors of the Russias, and of the Ottoman Porte, together with the warlike stores and provisions and all the artillery of every kind now in the magazines, inventories of which shall be made by the respective Commissioners, after the signing of the present Capitulation."

"*Observation.*—As to a capitulation with our own rebellious subjects, who are without force, without hope of succour, either by land or sea, with people, who, after the clemency used towards them by their King and Father, in promising them pardon, have fought like desperadoes, and now come to terms from fear alone, I find that capitulating with rebels is to dishonour oneself: one ought either to have attacked them with all our forces, or to have left them for a more favourable opportunity."

"ART. 2.—The troops, which compose the garrison, shall

keep possession of the forts until the vessels hereafter mentioned, destined to transport the individuals who shall desire to withdraw to Toulon, shall be ready to set sail: the evacuation shall not take place till the moment of embarkation."

"*Obs.*—This is real insolence; the rebels speak with (treat) their Sovereign as an equal, and with an air of having the upper hand of him."

"ART. 3.—The garrisons shall go out with the Honours of War, arms and baggage, drums beating, flags flying, matches lighted, and each with two pieces of cannon: and they shall deposit their arms on the shore."

"*Obs.*—This is a piece of infamy, and so absurd that I feel repugnance in speaking of it. Honour to what! To the standard of rebellion! This is so absurd that I know not how any one could conceive it, much less subscribe (their names) to it."

"ART. 4.—The persons, property, moveable and immoveable, of every individual comprising the two garrisons, shall be respected and guaranteed."

"*Obs.*—Meaning to say, that the guilty shall not even suffer a slight trouble or privation, after so grave a guilt."

"ART. 5.—All these individuals shall have the power of choosing whether they will embark on board the Parliamentary vessels which shall be given them for transport to Toulon, or remain at Naples, without either themselves or their families being molested."

"*Obs.*—This article is such as to make me ask why any troops have come, seeing that felons are allowed to go away without being molested, and are encouraged to make a fresh and better combination on some other occasion, and to stimulate the ill-disposed in Sicily to do the same; since there is nothing to be lost and much to be gained."

"ART. 6.—The conditions inserted in the present Capitulation shall be common to all persons of both sexes shut up within the forts."

"*Obs.*—The two sexes being expressly mentioned, proves that they feel there are some guilty persons of both sexes. The clause shews the fact."

"ART. 7.—The same conditions shall extend to all the prisoners of the Republican army made by the troops of his

Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, or by those of his Allies, in the various encounters that have taken place before the blockade of the Castles."

"*Obs.*—The same principle of full liberty and safety for the felons of rebels, in order that they may take again to their crimes with better success."

"ART. 8.—The Signiors, the Archbishop of Salerno, De Micheroux de Dillon, and the Bishop of Avellino, detained in the forts, shall be given up to the Commandant of the fort of St. Elmo, where they shall remain as hostages until notice shall have been received from Toulon that the prisoners sent thither have arrived."

"*Obs.*—The absurdity of giving hostages, as if we were the conquered—the guilty; to depend on a handful of French—to await their orders, renders Naples a vile French garrisoned town. Then the British fleet ought to treat it and reduce it to obedience, as it would Toulon, Brest or Rochfort."

"ART. 9.—All the other hostages and prisoners of State confined in the castles, shall be set at liberty immediately after the present Capitulation shall be signed."

"*Obs.*—I would have no coming out; but all should be forced to regain their liberty with arms in their hands, to their own honour and the good of the kingdom and city."

"ART. 10.—All the Articles of this Capitulation shall await their execution until it has been entirely approved of by the Commandant of the fort of St. Elmo.

(*Signed*) "CARDINAL RUFFO, *Vicar-General.*
"KER KANDY.[1]
"SCUS LEGGERCIE.[2]
"E. J. FOOTE."

"*Obs.*—This is indeed the *ne plus ultra* of baseness—of infamy; they do not ask the approbation of their own Sovereign, against whose orders and instructions they act in dia-

[1] This name is printed in Captain Foote's Vindication as Kerandy Neut Prescaje.

[2] Printed by Captain Foote as Borien Kubuffuterre. The former was the Russian, the latter the Turkish Commander. Captain Foote expresses his doubts as to the names being correctly spelled. He was unable to decipher the signatures. Those above are taken from the paper made for the Queen of Naples, and upon which her Majesty's Observations are written.

metrical opposition, and the rebels ask for approval from a small number of French. This shews the infamy (vileness) of the rebels, and the inconceivable sort of stupidity or the want of intelligence of those who subscribed (their names).

"This is such an infamous Treaty, that if by a miracle of Providence some event does not arise to break and destroy it, I reckon myself as lost and dishonoured, and I believe, that at the risk of dying of malaria, of fatigue, of a gun-shot wound from the rebels, the King on one side, and the Prince on the other, they ought immediately to arm the provinces, to march against the rebel city, and die under its ruins if any resistance is offered; but not continue to be the vile slaves of the French scoundrels, and of their infamous emulators, the rebels.

"Such are my sentiments. This infamous Capitulation, if it takes place, will afflict me far worse than the loss of the kingdom, and will have far worse effects."

When Lord Nelson arrived in the Bay of Naples, accompanied, as before stated, by Sir William and Lady Hamilton, who were selected as his interpreters, he being but imperfectly versed in the Italian language, carrying full powers from the King, and observing the flag of truce flying, he instantly dispatched Troubridge and Ball to Cardinal Ruffo, to represent his opinions of this truce, and his determination not to abide by it; but the Cardinal having been a subscribing party to the capitulation, refused to interfere in the breaking of the armistice, nor would he assist Lord Nelson with either men or guns in the event of his determining upon offensive operations. In Harrison's "Life of Nelson" some particulars are given, which it appears proper here to insert. Cardinal Ruffo expressed a desire to converse with Lord Nelson on the subject, and he accordingly went on board. At this interview it is said, "Sir William Hamilton interpreted between Lord Nelson and Cardinal Ruffo, till he was almost exhausted with fatigue. The dispute lasted about two hours, and frequently ran very high; the Cardinal, however, proved more than a match for Sir William and his Lordship together in volubility, though far from equal to either in true eloquence. The venerable Sir William, at length vexed and wearied, calmly seated himself, and requested his lady to assist their

honourable friend, who continued pacing the cabin with the most determined perseverance, in conducting this war of words. The pleasingly persuasive voice of her Ladyship, delivering the manly sentiments of his Lordship, made no impression on the Cardinal. He would not submit to reason, nor his Lordship to any thing else: so that the lady was in a fair way of becoming soon as desirous to desist as Sir William had been before her, and for the same reason too, if Lord Nelson had not suddenly put an end to the argument, by observing that, since he found an Admiral was no match for a Cardinal in talking, he would try the effect of writing. He wrote, therefore, the following opinion, which he immediately delivered to Cardinal Ruffo:—

"Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson, who arrived in the Bay of Naples on the 24th of June, with the British fleet, found a treaty entered into with the rebels; which, he is of opinion, ought not to be carried into execution, without the approbation of his Sicilian Majesty—the Earl of St. Vincent—Lord Keith."[1]

The interview thus terminated. Nelson had not in view any design of punishing the rebels. he was so anxious to secure; his wish extended only to the safe custody of them until the King's pleasure should be known, and in this at length the Cardinal acquiesced. On the 27th of June, therefore, the principal rebels were received on board the several ships of the British squadron, and the remainder in polacres under their care, when Captain Troubridge was directed to land with troops in Naples, and cut down "the infamous Tree of Anarchy," which was done, and it was burnt before the King's palace.

Cardinal Ruffo, Vicar-General of the Royalists, was statesman, prelate, and general. He raised a large army of Royalists in the provinces by the powerful operation of the Catholic cause, and he headed in person what was called the Christian army. Nelson had a bad opinion of the Cardinal, and he wrote to Earl Spencer, August 1, 1799, the day on which Naples was entirely liberated from French anarchy, and the anniversary of the Battle of the Nile, that he had received a letter from General Sir John Acton, which gave

[1] Vol. ii. p. 100.

reasons for continuing him at the head of affairs. "My opinion of him," he says, "has never altered. He is now only Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; with a Council of eight, without whose consent nothing is valid: but, we know, the head of every board must have weight. This man must soon be removed; for all about him have been, and are, so corrupt, that there is nothing which may not be bought. Acton and Belmonte seem to me the only uncorrupted men in the kingdom." Lord Nelson used to call Ruffo, "The Great Devil, who commanded the Christian army." On the 16th of August he wrote to Rear-Admiral Duckworth, saying: "In Naples every thing is quiet; but the Cardinal appears to be working mischief against the King, and in support of the nobles: sooner or later he must be removed, for his bad conduct." M. de Gravière says of Ruffo that he was the son of a Calabrian baron, had been Apostolic Treasurer to Pope Pius VI., and had so scandalized Rome by his amours and prodigality, that the Pope, to get rid of him, made him a Cardinal. Acton fearing him, had named him Vicar-General of the kingdom, hoping that the King would ruin him by entrusting the Calabrian expedition to his guidance.[1]

The repudiation of the Treaty of Capitulation for the surrender of the castles of Nuovo and Uovo, has been considered as an unwarrantable and unjustifiable exercise of authority. Nelson's position was very peculiar, and perhaps his only justification is to be found in the authority vested in him as Commander-in-chief of the Sicilian navy. That he was vested with extraordinary, if not unlimited powers by the King of Naples, at whose urgent entreaty he had then come to Naples, cannot be doubted—but the precise nature and extent of these have never been stated. Sir N. Harris Nicolas has, however, quoted from the Diary of Miss Knight, to shew that Lord Nelson had a commission from the King, and the letter of Ferdinand to Nelson in the possession of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, a translation of which is given by Sir Harris Nicolas in his Dispatches and Letters (Vol. iii. p. 491. Appendix,) tends to shew the entire trust

[1] Plunkett's Last Naval War, Vol. ii. p. 39. Ruffo celebrated mass in the Church of San Januarius upon the entry of Joseph Buonaparte into Naples, Feb. 16, 1806. He died at Naples, Dec. 13, 1827, in the 83rd year of his age.

reposed in Nelson by the King, and his authority to "employ actual and powerful force, to bring efficiently to their duty the obstinate oppressors of my (Neapolitan) people, and to extirpate, as is urgent, that nest of malefactors, you will be obliged to put into execution every means which may best tend to obtain that necessary end."

That neither the King, nor the Queen, nor the Prime Minister Acton, were satisfied with the treaty, or disposed to admit the conditions of it, is apparent from the letter of her Majesty, of the 25th June,[1] in which the terms thought proper on the occasion are very distinctly stated; and as this letter was written at Palermo, after having received intelligence of a Treaty having been entered into, it is certainly clear that Ruffo was not authorized by the King to treat definitively with the rebels. The Treaty, however, having been consented to, and subscribed by, the Vicar-General of Naples, the Russian, Turkish, and British Commanders, who may be conceived by those who were in possession of the Castles, to have been duly authorized to enter into such an engagement, the propriety of Nelson's repudiation of it may fairly be questioned.

Nelson's conduct and acts, it must be observed, met with the unqualified approval of the King, which was marked in the most decisive manner on the 13th of August, by creating him Duke of Bronté,[2] with an estate attached to it of the value of £3000. *per annum.*

On the 15th of August Nelson wrote to his father from Palermo:—

"My dear Father,

"His Sicilian Majesty having created me a Duke, by the title of Bronté, to which he has attached a feud of, it is said, about £3000. a year, to be at my disposal, I shall certainly not omit this opportunity of being useful to my family, always reserving a right to the possessor, of leaving one-third of the income for the payment of legacies. It shall first go to you,

[1] See page 233, *ante.*

[2] The Patent is printed in the Appendix to Vol. iii. Dispatches and Letters. Nelson received his Sovereign's permission to accept the dignity on the 9th of Jan. 1801.

my dear father, and in succession to my elder brother, and children male, William the same, Mrs. Bolton's boys, Mrs. Matcham's, and my nearest relations. For your natural life, the estate shall be taxed with £500. a year, but this is not to be drawn into a precedent, that the next heir may expect it. No, my honoured father, receive this small tribute as a mark of gratitude to the best of parents from his most dutiful son,

"NELSON."[1]

Although Nelson was created Duke of Bronté, he for a long time held out from receiving this reward for his services. For two or three days he withstood the entreaties of Sir William and Lady Hamilton to accept such elevated dignity, and the large emoluments annexed to it, fearful lest the purity of his motives should become matter of suspicion. At the solicitation of the Queen, however, aided by the powerful persuasion of Lady Hamilton, he agreed to receive the honour and aggrandizement, the bestowal of which certainly reflected much credit on the Sovereign. An affectionate letter accompanied this well earned and splendid reward, and a letter also from the Prince de Luzzi, acquainting him of his creation as Duke of Bronté in Sicily. To the King and to the Prince de Luzzi Nelson replied in appropriate expressions of gratitude. The Queen had, upon the return of Lady Hamilton to Palermo, presented her with a rich gold chain, with a miniature of herself set in diamonds, with the motto "Eterna Gratitudine," and she now made further presents, which were conveyed to her house whilst she was at the palace with the Queen. They consisted of two coach loads of magnificent dresses, a richly jewelled picture of the King of the value of 1000 guineas, and another of the same value for Sir William Hamilton. The presents on this occasion to the Ambassador and his lady were valued at 6000 guineas. The King made various presents also to Nelson's officers: to Captain Hope for having embarked his Majesty and the Prince Royal in his barge on the night of December 21, 1798, a valuable diamond ring; and rings and snuff-boxes

[1] From an Autograph in the possession of James Young, Esq. of Wells in Norfolk, printed in Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 441.

were distributed to others by Nelson at the King's request. Those to Captain Hood,[1] Captain Troubridge, and Captain Hardy, were of great elegance and value.

[1] Captain Samuel Hood was born in November, 1762. He was second cousin to Lords Hood and Bridport, and maintained the naval distinction of his family. He entered the service as Midshipman, when 14 years of age, under the protection of his relative, Lord Hood, and was in the battle between Admiral Keppel and the Count D'Orvilliers in 1778. He acted as Lieutenant on board Lord Hood's ship, the Barfleur, and went to the West Indies in 1780, remaining there until 1782. During this period he was in the action with Count de Grasse, off Martinique, in that of the Chesapeake also, and in the actions between the two fleets at St. Kitt's on the 25th and 26th January, 1782. After these actions, he was promoted to the rank of Commander. Although appointed to the Renard, he preferred being as a volunteer for active service on board the Barfleur, and was in the celebrated actions of the 9th and 12th April, 1782. He was likewise at the capture of the French squadron in the Mona Passage. Preliminaries of peace being signed, Captain Hood visited France, and remained there until 1785, when, upon his return, he was appointed to survey the coasts and harbours on the Halifax station. In 1788, he was made Post Captain, and he returned from Halifax in the following year. In 1790 he was appointed to the Juno, and proceeded to Jamaica and highly distinguished himself by his humane exertions in saving three men from shipwreck. In this exercise he incurred great danger, and the House of Assembly voted to him a sword of the value of 100 guineas as an approval of his noble conduct. In 1793, upon the breaking out of the war, Captain Hood was ordered to the Mediterranean, and was dispatched to Malta, and upon his return to Toulon, not being acquainted with the evacuation of that place, had a very narrow escape from the enemy. He was at the reduction of Corsica, and distinguished himself under the division commanded by Commodore Linzee. He was also at the taking of Bastia and Calvi. He was one of the brave crew in the attack of Santa Cruz, and with Captain Troubridge in that town, and took the extraordinary message to the Governor by which the British obtained their release. In 1798, Captain Hood commanded the Zealous, was the first officer to descry the French fleet at Aboukir, and shared in the glories of the Battle of the Nile. For his services he received the thanks of Parliament, and a sword from the City of London. Nelson, after the Battle of the Nile, left Hood with the command of a squadron on the coast of Egypt. With this he blockaded Alexandria, performed many important services, and received from the Grand Signior a handsome snuff-box set with diamonds. In 1798, as above stated, he was with Nelson aiding in the flight of the Royal family of Naples, and in the following year was at Palermo. He had the charge of the Castel Nuovo, and maintained the quiet of Naples whilst St. Elmo was being besieged. The King of Naples conferred the Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit upon him, and presented him with a snuff-box set with diamonds. In 1800, Sir Samuel Hood was appointed to the Courageux, 74 guns, and was in the Channel fleet. He afterwards commanded the Venerable, and escorted a valuable fleet of East Indiamen beyond the Cape de Verdes. He afterwards joined Sir James Saumarez, and was at the battle off Algeziras. Of his exertions on this occasion, Sir James Saumarez wrote: "Captain Hood's merits are held in too high estimation to receive additional lustre from any praises I can bestow; but I only do justice to my own feelings when I observe, that in no in-

Lord Nelson's intentions with regard to Bronté have been expressed in a letter addressed to General Sir John Acton, Bart. They were to make the people happy by not suffering them to be oppressed, and to enrich the country by the improvements of agriculture. To carry out these laudable views he appointed Mr. Graeffer as Governor. His character was unimpeachable, and his knowledge of agricultural affairs competent. It was, however, difficult to manage the estate, and Nelson complained that some of the people who had hired farms, had, contrary to his conditions, let them out to middle men. It was desired also, that all Bronté cases should be tried at Palermo; to this he was exceedingly averse, as it was repugnant to justice, and would be ruinous to those whose happiness he so earnestly desired.

On the 27th of June Lord Nelson wrote to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty, congratulating their Lordships on the possession of the city of Naples; the castles of Uovo and Nuovo he had taken possession of on the 26th. Fort St. Elmo was not obtained from the French until the 12th of July. The prisoners were, however, given up to the Neapolitan authorities on the 10th of July. In the siege of the fort of St. Elmo, Captain Troubridge particularly distinguished himself, and was created a Baronet on the 30th of November for his services. On the 29th of June Lord Nelson issued the following proclamation:—[1]

stance have I known superior bravery to that displayed by him on this occasion." He received the thanks of Parliament, of the Admiralty, and of his Commander-in-chief. In 1802, he was made a Commissioner for the Island of Trinidad, and was afterwards Commander-in-chief on the Barbadoes and Leeward Island station. Upon the breaking out of the war he captured the Islands of St. Lucia and Tobago, and subsequently the Colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. He was also at the settlement of Surinam, and the reduction of Martinique. He received the Order of the Bath for those glorious services, and returned to England in 1805, having received a service of plate of the value of 300 guineas from the Legislative Assemblies, and a similar present from Barbadoes. He was now made a Colonel of Marines, and in 1806 placed under the orders of Earl St. Vincent, and appointed to watch the enemy off Rochfort. With the French squadron he was engaged in a desperate battle, captured four frigates, and was wounded, and had his right arm amputated. For this loss he received a pension of £500. *per annum*. He represented Westminster in Parliament. He died at Madras, December 24th, 1814, having attained the rank of Vice-Admiral of the White.

[1] From the Order Book.

"Foudroyant, Naples Bay, 29th June, 1799.

"Horatio, Lord Nelson, Admiral of the British fleet in the Bay of Naples, gives notice to all those who have served as officers, civil or military, in the service of the infamous Neapolitan Republic, that if, in the space of twenty-four hours for those who are in the city of Naples, and forty-eight hours for those who are within five miles of it, they do not give themselves up to the clemency of the King, to the officer commanding the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, that Lord Nelson will consider them still as in rebellion, and enemies of his Sicilian Majesty.

"NELSON."

CHAPTER IX.

1799—1800.

No event connected with Lord Nelson's career has excited more attention, or procured for him more obloquy, than the trial and execution of Francisco Caracciolo.[1] It is essential, therefore, to collect together and view the circumstances connected with this transaction, in order to form an impartial and unbiassed opinion as to his conduct on this occasion.

Caracciolo was of an ancient and noble family, and son of Prince Caracciolo, the Viceroy of Sicily. He entered as a cadet, and rose to be a Commodore in the Neapolitan Navy. He was engaged with honour to himself, in Lord Hotham's action against the French, in March, 1795, at which time he commanded the Tancredi, of 74 guns. The document already printed,[2] exhibits the great confidence reposed in him, and that his fidelity and loyalty were in no degree suspected, inasmuch as he was engaged to accompany the Royal family from Naples in their flight to Palermo, in December, 1798. Upon his arrival there, he remained with the Court until the new Parthenopæan or Revolutionary Republic declared the estates of those Neapolitans who did not return to Naples to be forfeited. To avert this loss of his property, which, it is said, was considerable, he solicited and obtained the permission of the King to return, who at the same time warned him to "beware of intermeddling with French politics;" and added, "Avoid the snares of Republicans. I know I shall recover the kingdom of Naples." This warning, connected with the full persuasion of the restoration of the kingdom expressed by his Sovereign, it might reasonably have been

[1] This I presume to be the correct mode of spelling his name, as it accords with his autograph, though it is more frequently written Caraccioli.

[2] See page 185, *ante*.

expected, would have made a strong impression upon him; yet, soon after his arrival at Naples, he is found serving under the new Republic.

Lord Nelson, it must be remarked, did not entertain any prejudices unfavourable to Caracciolo. Captain Troubridge wrote to his Lordship (April 9, 1799), "I just learn that *Caraccioli has the honour* to mount guard as a *common soldier*, and was yesterday a sentinel at the palace; he has refused service. I believe they force every one to do duty as militia." Again (April 13): "I inclose your Lordship one of Caraccioli's letters, as head of the marine. I hope he has been forced into this measure. This was intercepted at Capri. I have another from Gaeta to Ponza, sent by that route, as he says he cannot forward it by the Bay of Naples." And (April 19), "Caraccioli, I am assured by all the sailors, is not a *Jacobin*, but forced to act as he does. They sign his name to printed papers without his authority, as they have, in my opinion, the Archbishop's." Lord Nelson wrote to the Earl Spencer, April 26th: "Many of the principal Jacobins have fled, and Caraccioli has resigned his situation as Head of the Marine. This man was fool enough to quit his master when he thought his case desperate; yet, in his heart, I believe he is no Jacobin. The fishermen, a few days ago, told him publicly, 'We believe you are loyal, and sent by the King; but much as we love you, if we find you disloyal, you shall be among the first to fall.'" To the Earl of St. Vincent, Lord Nelson wrote (April 30): "I believe nothing can prevent the people of Naples from rising, and attempting the castle of St. Elmo, where the Jacobins have retired, and our friend Caraccioli amongst them." But on the 1st of May, Captain Troubridge had altered his opinion, and wrote to Lord Nelson: "Caraccioli, I am now satisfied, is a Jacobin. I inclose you one of his letters. He came in the gun-boats to Castel à Mare himself, and spirited up the Jacobins." Captain Foote, then senior naval officer off Naples, also wrote to Lord Nelson (May 28th): "Caraccioli threatens a second attack, with a considerable addition of force." And on the 11th of June, the same officer writes: "Caraccioli's gun-boats have for some days past been firing at the town of Annunciata and the

adjacent houses." Captain Foote also (in his "Vindication" relating to the Capitulation of the Castles of Uovo and Nuovo), states that on the 13th of June, the "Cardinal Ruffo (or rather the Russians) took the fort of Villerna and the bridge of Madalena. Caracciolo's gun-boats annoyed them a good deal, the weather preventing my approaching sufficiently close with the frigates; but if the galleys had been with me, I should certainly have taken some of the gun-boats, or caused them to retreat." Caracciolo also commanded the Republican gun-boats that fired upon the Neapolitan frigate La Minerva, as the charge upon which he was tried and condemned exhibits.

The safety of Caracciolo has been considered by some as having been guaranteed by the Capitulation entered into between Cardinal Ruffo and the rebels; but to admit this it must be shewn that Caracciolo was actually within the castles of Uovo or Nuovo at the time this engagement was entered into. The Capitulation was signed June 23rd. He could not have been in either of the castles at this time, as on the day mentioned he wrote a letter to the Duke of Calviranno at Portici from Calviranno, to which place he had fled, imploring the interest of the Duke with Cardinal Ruffo for his protection. In this letter he strongly expressed his fears lest, under the circumstances in which he was placed, violence on his life might be committed by the brigands. He did not, however, obtain either from the Duke or the Cardinal the assistance he desired, and he therefore fled to the mountains, a reward having been offered for his apprehension, and on the 29th of June he was brought a prisoner, in the disguise of a peasant, with his arms bound, on board the Foudroyant. His bonds were removed by order of Captain Hardy; he was offered refreshment, but declined it; and he was placed under the charge of Lieutenant Parkinson, with two sentinels at his door. The Neapolitan Royalists were loud in their menaces against him—the traitor Caracciolo—and Captain Hardy had some difficulty in protecting him from violence and insult. Lieutenant Parsons, who was signal mate to Lord Nelson, has in his "Nelsonian Reminiscences"[1] given the following

[1] Page 2.

account of Caracciolo when brought on the poop of the Foudroyant, strongly guarded by marines. "He was a short, thick-set man, of apparent strength, but haggard with misery and want; his clothing in wretched condition, but his countenance denoting stern resolution to endure that misery like a man. He spoke a short sentence to me in pure English, as if perfectly master of the language, and was shortly ushered into our ward-room, where a Court was assembled of his own officers, Count Thurn sitting as President."

No sooner was the circumstance of his apprehension made known, but measures were taken to bring him to trial. Lord Nelson issued his warrant to the Count de Thurn.[1] It ran thus:—

"TO COUNT THURN, COMMODORE AND COMMANDER OF "HIS SICILIAN MAJESTY'S FRIGATE LA MINERVA.

"By Horatio Lord Nelson, &c. &c. &c.

"Whereas Francisco Caracciolo, a Commodore in the service of his Sicilian Majesty, has been taken, and stands accused of rebellion against his lawful Sovereign, and for firing at his colours hoisted on board his frigate the Minerva, under your command, you are, therefore, hereby required and directed to assemble five of the senior officers under your command, yourself presiding, and proceed to inquire whether the crime with which the said Francisco Caracciolo stands charged, can be proved against him; and if the charge is proved, you are to report to me what punishment he ought to suffer.

"Given on board the Foudroyant, Naples Bay, the 29th June, 1799.

"NELSON."

Doubts have been expressed as to the authority possessed by Nelson to issue this warrant. If illegally given, Nelson's conduct must unquestionably be condemned, and he would be entitled to a much greater share of obloquy than has even hitherto been attached to him for the part he took in this transaction. This question may be considered under two

[1] Count de Thurn was a German by birth, had entered the Sicilian Navy, and rose to the rank of Commodore.

heads:—1st, Had Lord Nelson power to order a Court-martial upon an officer in the Sicilian service; and 2nd, If possessing this power, was it not right that the trial so ordered should have taken place on board a Sicilian, and not a British vessel? In reference to the Capitulation of the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, it has been already seen that Nelson was vested with authority as Commander-in-chief of the Sicilian squadron, and that he possessed unlimited powers given to him by the King, at whose especial request he had come to Naples. It is true the powers have never been fully and circumstantially expressed, but they must have been admitted and acknowledged, or Count de Thurn, the Commodore and Commander of the Sicilian frigate La Minerva, would most assuredly have declined to act upon the order given by Lord Nelson. These circumstances appear to me to justify answering the first consideration in the affirmative. With respect to the second, the place in which the Court-martial ought to have been held, it must be remarked the warrant itself is silent—it does not express any particular place; but it is dated from on board the Foudroyant, and there Count de Thurn and five senior officers of the Sicilian Navy assembled to execute the functions they were called upon to perform. Whatever may have been the feelings of ill will towards Caracciolo which are said to have been entertained by the Sicilian Commodore, occasioned by the former having fired upon the vessel of which the Count was the Commander, it is exceedingly unjust, without manifest proof, to charge him with vindictiveness, and argue that it would so operate as to influence him in determining upon the existence of a fellow creature. The Count's character has never been impeached; he has never appeared as a passionate or malignant man; but, on the contrary, he has been represented as a man of unblemished honour and integrity. Painful as the discharge of Count de Thurn's duty unquestionably was, it is unlikely he should have the power of declining to perform it. He was the senior officer, and to him the order was issued. If Lord Nelson had the power and authority of Commander in-chief of the Sicilian squadron, Count de Thurn had no other alternative than implicitly to obey his commands.

What reasons may have occasioned the trial to take place on board a British ship, have not been detailed, nor is it possible now to ascertain them; but few persons would, I conceive, argue that a different issue would have been the result, had it been conducted on board La Minerva, or any other Sicilian vessel. The same officers would have tried the case, as being the seniors to be obtained to form the Court, and the decision would have been to the same effect. It is difficult to conceive but that the trial on board a British man-of-war might even be more favourable to Caracciolo than otherwise. The trial proceeded, and Lieutenant Parsons has given the following[1] as his defence: "I am accused of deserting my King in distress, and leaguing with his enemies. The accusation is so far false, that the King deserted me and all his faithful subjects. It is well known to you, gentlemen, that our frontier was covered by an army under General Mack, superior to the advancing enemy, and you are aware that the sinews of war is money. The King collected every thing that could be converted into specie, on pretence of paying that army, embarked it in his Britannic Majesty's ship Vanguard, even to the enormous amount of 500 casks, and fled with it to Palermo, there to riot in luxurious safety. Who was then the traitor—the King or myself? After such uncalled for, and, I must say, cowardly desertion by the sovereign, Mack's army disbanded for want of pay, and the French army occupied Naples. It is known to you, gentlemen, that my patrimonial possessions lay in the city, and that my family is large. If I had not succumbed to the ruling power, my children would have been vagabonds in the land of their fathers. Gentlemen, some of you are parents, and I appeal to your feelings; let each of you place yourselves in my situation, and say how you would have acted; but I think my destruction is pre-determined, and this Court any thing but a Court of Justice. If I am right, my blood be upon your head, and those of your children!"

If the preceding defence be substantially true, it must be admitted that it serves in no degree to establish his innocence

[1] Nelsonian Reminiscences, p. 3.

of the charges brought against him, and for which he was undergoing a trial, and the accusations against the King and his conduct, and the character of the tribunal before which he stood, were ill calculated to excite any favourable feeling on his behalf. It does not appear from this statement that he was desirous of calling any witnesses to aid his cause, but that, on the contrary, he abandoned himself to the rigour of the Court-martial. The Court was cleared; a little time was necessary to deliberate upon the evidence; it was again opened, and the unfortunate man received the following sentence, delivered by Count de Thurn :—

"Admiral Prince Caracciolo, you have been unanimously found guilty of the charges brought against you; you have repaid the high rank and honours conferred on you by a mild and confiding Sovereign, with the blackest ingratitude. The sentence of the Court is, that you shall be hanged by the neck at the yard-arm of your own flag-ship, in two hours from this time, and may God have mercy on your soul!"[1]

To this Caracciolo said: "Hereafter, when you shall be called to your great account, you will weep for this unjust sentence in tears of blood. I take shame to myself in asking any favour from such men; but, if possible, I wish to be shot, as becomes my rank, and not hung up like a felon and a dog."

"It is inadmissible," said Count Thurn, "and the Court is hereby dissolved."[2]

The following order was issued, directing the sentence to be carried into effect.

"TO COMMODORE COUNT THURN, COMMANDER OF HIS SICILIAN MAJESTY'S SHIP, LA MINERVA.

"By Horatio Lord Nelson, &c. &c. &c.

"Whereas a Board of Naval Officers of his Sicilian Majesty hath been assembled to try Francisco Caracciolo for rebellion against his lawful Sovereign, and for firing at his Sicilian Majesty's frigate, La Minerva. And whereas, the said Board of Naval Officers have found the charge of rebellion fully

[1] Nelsonian Reminiscences, p. 4. [2] Ibid p. 5.

proved against him, and have sentenced the said Caracciolo to suffer death; you are hereby required and directed to cause the said sentence of death to be carried into execution upon the said Francisco Caracciolo accordingly, by hanging him at the fore-yard arm of his Sicilian Majesty's frigate La Minerva, under your command, at five o'clock this evening; and to cause him to hang there until sunset, when you will have his body cut down, and thrown into the sea.

"NELSON.

"Given on board the Foudroyant,
"Naples Bay, June 29th, 1799."

The trial occupied two hours; the proceedings were conducted in Italian; the ward-room, in which it took place, was open to any one who chose to enter. Caracciolo is said to have been repeatedly asked questions best calculated to clear his character; but he failed to do so to the satisfaction of the Court. On the contrary, it was proved that he had abundant opportunities of escaping from the rebels, and that he had not availed himself of them. His position was deeply commiserated; his rank, his character, his former services, his advanced age, being about seventy, were all calculated to excite compassion. Yet it was not to be forgotten that he an officer, and of a noble family, possessing the confidence of his Sovereign, sharing in the temporary exile of his Royal master, quits him to save his property, and, having by his return to Naples accomplished this, submits to be enrolled against his legitimate King, incites to, and joins in offensive operations, directs a fire against the Minerva, Neapolitan frigate, and the English ships, occasioning a loss of life among his Britannic Majesty's subjects. His innocence on these points could not be shewn; he did not attempt to establish it, and he was condemned. If the circumstances mentioned are not to be regarded as traitorous, it is difficult to conceive what character can be assigned to them.

The caption of the prisoner, the order for his trial, and the execution of the sentence followed very quickly on each other; the whole did not occupy more than twelve hours. Caracciolo twice requested Lieutenant Parkinson to intercede with Lord

Nelson in his behalf; first, that he should have another trial, and secondly, that he might die by being shot, the disgrace of hanging being dreadful to him. With neither of these requests did Nelson comply. His answers were: "Caracciolo has been fairly tried by the officers of his own country; I cannot interfere." And "Go, Sir, and attend to your duty."

Although Sir William and Lady Hamilton were both on board the Foudroyant at this time, Nelson kept himself to his apartment and saw none but British officers. Southey has considered Lord Nelson blameable for not interfering on the side of mercy. It must not be forgotten that among the many jewels which compose the Hero's character, that of humanity is one of the most conspicuous. To the influence of Lady Hamilton, and to her devotion to the Royal cause, her intimacy with the Royal family, and her hatred for all the rebels to the Royal authority, has been attributed the haste and determination in the trial and execution of Caracciolo; but although the power of Lady Hamilton over Lord Nelson was unquestionably very great, even at this time, and at a later period of his life to a still farther degree, yet in no instance has it been found to operate against the performance of his public duties, nor to detain him from rendering the services he owed to his country. It would be unjust to the memory of this great man to admit such accusations against him without having the most distinct and irrefragable proofs of their validity. How far Lord Nelson's interference on behalf of Caracciolo might have operated against the King's interest at this time, it is hardly possible to say, seeing that the Royalists were very violent against all who had taken part with the Jacobins.

Under these impressions, may not the execution of Caracciolo be looked upon rather as a necessary measure to discountenance rebellion, and suppress anarchy;—as a rigorous act of justice requisite under the circumstances—not admitting of the exercise of that clemency which Nelson's nature was disposed to exert, and which, we may reasonably imagine, would have been extended to one who had shared with him in the dangers of war, had aided him in securing the safety of the Royal family, and towards whom it was un-

likely for him to have entertained any personal ill-feeling or vindictive spirit?

In palliation of the haste and decision which marked the proceedings, it may be fairly urged, that in the eyes of Nelson, Caracciolo was a traitor—was found in arms—in open and offensive rebellion against the cause of his Sovereign, who had not only treated him with distinction,[1] but entrusted his own person, as it were, to his care, and in yielding to his entreaties to return to Naples to secure to himself the possession of his property, had, at the same time warned him against the commission of those offences in which he had indulged;—that Nelson could not look upon his crime but as one of the blackest dye, and that in the state of things then existing, the King being still absent at Palermo, it became necessary to make a striking and immediate example, in consequence of a departure from duty on the part of no less an officer than the head of the Sicilian marine.

An able writer in the Westminster Review for January 1848, has well remarked upon the rapidity with which the sentence against Caracciolo was carried into effect, that the same course was pursued two years before, on the occasion of the trial of the mutineers of the St. George, off Cadiz, when Lord St. Vincent wrote to Nelson that had they been convicted, they would suffer on the same evening. The trial, however, was not over until past sunset, and the sentence could not therefore be carried into effect until the next day, and that day, although *Sunday*, was approved and acted upon for the execution. Vice-Admiral Thompson ventured to remonstrate with Lord St. Vincent for having ordered an execution on a Sunday, and the Earl in consequence demanded the immediate recall of that officer.

Of the Queen of Naples' letters to Lady Hamilton, the

[1] In Harrison's Life of Lord Nelson, it is said that "Caracciolo had received at Palermo, the supreme command of the small remains of his Sicilian Majesty's fleet; that, on his departure for Messina, he had been earnestly and most pathetically conjured by the Queen, while taking leave of her Majesty, to do everything in his power for the promotion of the welfare of her little family; that he had, soon after, under pretence of assisting the Royalists in Calabria, abandoned his Sovereign, and actually joined the Republicans with the force committed to his charge."—Vol. ii. p. 104.

following relate to this period, and they certainly do not display the ferocity with which this illustrious personage is usually charged :—

"July 2, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I received with great pleasure your kind and obliging letters, three of Saturday and one of Friday, with the list of the Jacobins who are some of the vilest we have had. I have seen also the sad and merited end of the unfortunate and mad-brained Caracciolo. I am sensible how much your excellent heart must have suffered, which increases my sense of gratitude to you. I observed your remarks and am very grateful for them—from all that I see and learn the confusion is very great in unfortunate and pitiable Naples. An effective land force for the maintenance of order was requisite, but you, my good friends, have done wonders, and I am truly sensible of all your efforts. This evening, whilst I write to you, the Portuguese brig is arrived, with letters to the 30th, and that of the dear Admiral to the King has determined him, and he will leave to-morrow evening, which causes me many tears, and will cost me more, the King not thinking it advisable that I should go for the short time he calculates upon remaining there; however he goes to-morrow evening—General Acton, Castelcicala, and Ascoli will accompany him perhaps (*le prïore?*) and 1000 infantry and 600 cavalry will march with Acton and Bourcard. The King wishes to embark in his frigate accompanied by the English and the Portuguese brig. I shall remain solitary, offering petitions to heaven for a glorious and successful issue, but I am profoundly affected, and compare myself as I really am with what I ought justly to be. It is now, my dear Lady, that your friendship for me will be shewn by writing to me, for all my correspondents seeing my inactivity and fearing to compromise themselves remain silent—but I hope my good friend Emma will not forget me, although banished at Palermo. This will be an epoch in my life. Do not suppose that any personal reason or caprice prevents my coming. I have been influenced by several motives; no one wishes me to go, and I feared I might diminish the love and enthusiasm the King's presence will inspire, those sentiments

not being manifested towards me—in a word, many prudential reasons have caused me to remain as a duty, although a painful one. I shall continue to avail myself of your friendship in sending my various letters to you, and telling the parties to address their replies to me through you. I hope that affairs with the Cardinal will be arranged, but I foresee many storms, and then they will regret me. My heart is full, and I shall have much to say. Adieu, my dear Lady; pity me, do not forget me, but let me know, I conjure you, all the news. Believe me, with all my heart, your very attached and grateful friend for life,

"CHARLOTTE.

"A thousand compliments to the Chevalier and to the hero Nelson: tell them that I commit our interest and glory to them. I am grieved that I cannot personally thank them, but that my gratitude is not the less lively and lasting because expressed at a distance."

TO THE SAME.

"July 7, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I owe you a thousand thousand thanks for your two letters which I received late last night. I see in them the dictates of your friendship. At the time I am writing this, the King, I should think, will have reached Naples, because the barque which left on the 5th, met him about forty miles from Capri, which, thank God, consoles and quiets my feelings, my attachment to his person, my zeal, my desire to do the best, I may even say, my enthusiasm excite in me an ardent desire to go to Naples, but I could not obtain permission,—my reason tells me it is for the best. Alas! (although not just) they would have imputed all the evils to me from a spirit of revenge, in a word, the Neapolitan nation itself, and the dominant party with growing strength would have clashed with me. Should affairs be adjusted, and the kingdom obtain a position of tranquillity founded upon a surer basis, I could return there as a stranger, absolutely abstaining from mixing in any state affairs, or if the factions retain power, I

could remain in Sicily, or retire somewhere into seclusion. You have no idea, my dear Lady, how I am affected—deeply interested in saving Sicily and regaining the patrimony of my children. I have never sufficiently exposed to you how profoundly my mind is influenced by what has occurred to me, The Cardinal's conduct is very equivocal, it will be really necessary to observe his proceedings; he will either demand leave to resign his post in a manner and at a moment when it cannot be refused, or he will yield to all that may be proposed to him in order to remain at the head of the Government—in either case, I know what opinion to form of him, and also for whom to tremble—but these reflections are useless. The King and his ministers will arrange all for the best I hope. I thank you for kindly sending me my letters, I am still resolved not to write to any one, although painful to refrain. I wrote to Madame St. Marco several times before I left, to come to the coast of Naples, and also from Palermo, but she never came. Notwithstanding all the hatred she and her family have ever shewn towards me, none have ever been imprisoned; Manthone, Perusier, husband of St. del Rocca, St. Angelo Pesacelli are all her friends. All this compels me to silence, but if Madame de Santo Marco is in any pecuniary difficulty, she may rely upon my aid whilst she lives, but all ties of friendship are broken through her conduct. Migliano is a fool, a vulgar courtier, either royalist or republican, always poor; she is a viper with an infernal tongue, a woman who has always openly defamed the Court and the Government, who after we quitted first exhibited a diabolical character, and was one of the strongest female pillars of the aristocratic rebellion, which dethroned the King by expelling his Vicar-general before the coming of the French; in a word, my dear Lady, I unfortunately know the Neapolitan nobility and all the classes well, and I shall always say the same that there are but the Bourgeois, the working and the lower class who are faithful and attached, the latter are sometimes misled by their passions, but their sentiments are good. These are the reasons why I have no commission to trouble you with, for I have determined that on returning to Naples I will live entirely secluded from everybody. The experience of one and thirty years, during

which I have only lived to oblige others and to find myself at last deserted, having produced an impression on me which will never be obliterated. I am ready to return to Naples the moment that the King wishes it. I make no objections, but the plan I have formed these six months past, and my reflections and convictions consequent upon what has occurred, will undergo no change. I see that the Castle still holds out. They must have some hope of assistance; I conjure you not to allow a sous to be paid to Mejean,[1] after such an obstinate defence it would be really duping one, and it makes one think that it is done in order to permit the Generalissimo Cisalpin to divide it with Mejean. I beg you to prevent this folly and baseness, as the brave Admiral has already done with respect to the infamous armistice or capitulation with our rebels. I have so much to say that I shall never finish. My health suffers very much. We scarcely suffer from the heat at Palermo on account of the evening breeze. All my dear family are well. We go every day to a (*tricleum?*) to pray and carry the holy sacrament in procession to bless the sea, and pray for the King and Naples; it is all I can do, and I do it very willingly, for I am useless for anything else. Adieu, my dear Lady, continue to let me have news from you, they become especially interesting to me now, and I trust in your friendship not to forget me. I beg you to restrain your benevolence, and think only of those on whom real misfortunes have, or are promptly about to fall. Poor Belmont has heard of the arrest of his brother, he is much distressed by it, more on account of his brother's culpability than any thing else; every one we see is unfortunate which makes one very melancholy. Adieu, my dear Lady, a thousand compliments to the Chevalier; my most sincere thanks and compliments to the dear Admiral, how I wish to see you all again, and to assure you of the constant, sincere, tender friendship, and the eternal gratitude of your sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"I beg you to tell Luchesi that I am highly satisfied with the courage he alone displayed in writing to me, he in fact

[1] The Brigadier Commandant of the Fort St. Elmo.

does so daily, let him continue to do so, and give you his long and sincere reports; I hope he will never be compromised, I do not write to him, because of the determination I made. Adieu."

TO THE SAME.

"July 8, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"You have entirely forgotten me these four or five days. I have not had the least news since the death of Caracciolo. I have heard nothing from Naples, although at the time they last wrote they were about to attack St. Elmo. I remain forgotten at Palermo. I wait prepared until the King, the fountain of good and evil, shall be at Procida, until then I shall continue in trouble and anxiety. Neither the Cardinal, nor any one else writes—all will be, I hope, for the best. I calculate that the King must have arrived to-day, and ardently desire his prompt return, and especially that he will not endanger his person by too much exposing himself, as bad men are so numerous in Naples, and several may present themselves. Adieu, my dear Lady, do not entirely forget me then in my banishment, and believe me for life your eternal, sincere, and grateful friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"My compliments to the brave Admiral, and to the Chevalier."

On the 10th of July the King of Naples arrived in Naples Bay, went on board the Foudroyant, where the Royal Standard was hoisted, and his Majesty held his levees on the quarter-deck of that ship.

The King was most enthusiastically received. Lord Nelson wrote to Lord Keith of the manner in which he was welcomed by the people, calling him by no other name than that of father. He describes the scene as very affecting. This conduct, however, belonged to the more humble classes, that of the nobility was of a different character, which Nelson styles "infamous." The King witnessed from the deck of the

Foudroyant with great emotion, the lowering of the Neapolitan flag from the castle of St. Elmo on the third day after his return to Naples, and threw his arms round the necks of Lord Nelson, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, who were with his Majesty at the time.

Lady Hamilton acquainted the Queen of Naples of that which was passing at this time. Her Majesty writes:—

"July 15, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I owe replies to four of your dear letters, for which I render you the sincerest thanks, both for the details of the arrival of the King, and the particulars of the proofs of attachment and joy manifested by his faithful people, and for the wish expressed by you, my dear friend, that I had been there also. I confess it would have been very gratifying to me, and would perhaps have helped to soften recollections which can never be effaced, but will always be a source of unhappiness; however, that pleasure was denied me. I cannot sufficiently express the degree of gratitude I feel towards your brave nation, for the honourable capitulation effected; it has greatly excited me, as likewise the care and trouble taken by those excellent Captains, the pupils of our hero, saviour, and friend, Nelson. Never can we sufficiently testify our gratitude due to the good Troubridge, the brave Hallowell, and others, for their essential services. I beg you, my dear Lady, to say to our brave Admiral, that the gratitude and esteem I feel towards him are inexpressible. Many thanks to all the brave officers. My very sincere compliments to the brave Chevalier, your dear husband. Adieu, my dear Lady; believe that I trust entirely in your friendship, and am for life your sincere and grateful friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"We have sung with great pomp a solemn Te Deum, which, with a triple salvo from the little castles, and from the infantry battalion, was very effective; finally, with a humble heart, I have given thanks to God and our brave allies. On my return I found the English Captain with the flags, at which I was greatly pleased, and thank you for it. The poor Captain could not speak Italian, and the interpreter Michelino

has a very suspicious look to me; they say he is a bad man. I merely mention it to you. I have not time, my dear Lady, to say more. Make my tender compliments to the Chevalier, to the worthy Admiral, and believe me yours till death."

TO THE SAME.

"July 18, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I write to you by the Captain who brought me the flags from St. Elmo yesterday, and as he is returning, I have begged him to take under his especial convoy the vessel with all the Sicilian Ministers on board, the honest Guidobaldi and several Neapolitans going to the Junta. There is a second polacca with the wife of Farina and her children, and the daughter of Donna Carolina, who, fearing the pirates, will feel themselves safe under the protection of an Englishman. I have therefore begged the Captain to take them under his charge, which he has had the complaisance to do. How is your health, my dear Lady? you do not mention it, although you know how interested I feel about it. I fear that you will suffer from the heat on board; inform me of all which concerns you, for my heart is indeed deeply affected. Of the two French flags sent here, one is in the cathedral of St. Rosalie, as a trophy, the other is sent to Father Arcieri à la Guadagna. The two Vesuvians, being rebels, I have had burnt by the hands of the executioner at the four quarters, and the ashes thrown into the sea, to produce an effect. We begin to feel the heat very much. I imagine how much you must be engaged. I thank you for what you sent me; but you will see that frequently for fancy I have prepared hundreds. God grant that all they decide may be for the best, for on it depends future peace. In idea I am continually with you there; I acknowledge I should have liked to witness the acclamations of the people. As for my health, it is far from good; I cannot sleep, I have lost my appetite, I digest nothing; I am therefore very weak. Adieu, my dear Lady; say to my hero, our dear Lord Nelson, all that I feel, but am unable to express, of gratitude to him. A thousand compliments to the Chevalier: write everything to me, and believe me for life your sincere, attached, and grateful friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

TO THE SAME.

"July 18, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I was much affected by your letter; I am delighted to hear that your headache had passed off, and that you were better. I can understand how you must be incommoded on board ship, which increases my obligations to you for writing, and for everything you do for me. I see with great pleasure the constant demonstrations of attachment, fidelity, and loyalty of the faithful people; I never doubted that class, and I am not mistaken. I observe what you say of Mejean's business; I hope it will be brought to light, and everything exposed, so that we may not have to do with any more traitors: we have still to deal with several, and therefore I beg of you through your husband and Lord Nelson to trace out all the ramifications, for otherwise, as soon as the King's back is turned, they will be worse than before, as they will manage matters more skilfully through their previous experience. I shall reply to St. Marco some day; my heart induces me to do it, although the forgetfulness of my friends, including her, has, I confess, much chagrined me. As to the matter in question, I am infinitely obliged for what you say; I feel so much the more interested from observing that it is destroying with grief an honest man,[1] whose feelings for the unfortunate individual, mingled with the disgrace of having such infamous, ungrateful relatives, are consuming and shortening the life of an honourable man; which was the reason why, unknown to him, I spoke to you about it; but when I saw the man arrested, and especially noticed to the King, I considered all was over, and that he must submit to his punishment, which will be, in my opinion, an imprisonment in the islands (*maritimo pantellaria*).

"There being so many leaders, it would be necessary to hang hundreds of them at least, before he could be justly condemned, as he never fought against the King, nor has he been a chief, nor published any of those infamous prints. I have since been obliged to abandon him to his fate, and you must treat him like the others. There is Montemileto, the son of Cassano, who fought against the King; Stigliano, a

[1] The Count de Belmont?

military turncoat (*récidive*), is in the same case as Montemileto (except that he has not such a bad wife); they should all be punished alike, and I beg no particular favour may be shewn to any. As to the others, the public might make very troublesome complaints, and *certes* at this time, the motives influencing the judgments and the pardons granted will be commented upon, and their justice arraigned. I do not wish to be named nor attacked, therefore I beg you to make no distinction at all; they must suffer their fate, with their numerous and still more criminal companions, both male and female. I hope that his honest and unfortunate brother (who would assuredly have prevented my asking any favour for him, had he known my intention), will sustain with firmness and constancy the trying position in which the unworthy and dishonourable conduct of his brother placed him. So a thousand thanks for your trouble; make my compliments to Lord Nelson about it, and consider him amongst those for whom you need not occupy yourself: I know the weight of your reasons.

"We have none of those heats here, from which I fear you suffer so much on board. They are preparing fêtes here for the return of the King and for St. Rosalie. Adieu, my dear Lady: take great care of yourself, and believe me, with a thousand compliments to Lord Nelson and to the Chevalier, your very sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

TO THE SAME.

"July 18, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"My first letter was finished when I received your second, by which I find that you have seen the Duchess Corigliano. I beg you to send her this letter from me. She is the only one who has given proof of her attachment, which others of her equals pretended for me, exceeding even what I expected, therefore I shall ever feel grateful to her. The affair of Micheroux is infamous; perhaps they have divided the 150,000 ducats, but I hope they will not be given up to them after allowing themselves to be so beaten; but what I think infinitely worse of is the four months armistice, which is

enough to dishonour us, and lower us in the opinion of our faithful allies, particularly at the present moment, when, through the traitorous defection of the troops returning from Rome, there is the greatest danger of their not remaining faithful to our allies and friends, and it would be the height of madness; but this affair must be probed to the bottom, to find the wilfully guilty party. If such things are attempted again when once the King's back is turned, I would defeat such a scheme by bringing it clearly to light, through the power and union of those to whom similar commissions are entrusted. All the rest is but the pretension of Micheroux, giving himself the airs of a great man; I have always doubted him. I am suprised that Do Onorato has not shewn the least interest or gratitude to the King or me; I judge of him accordingly. I am glad to see you are going to St. Elmo, there is a superb view from it, and you will breathe a better air. As you will see those ladies and gentlemen, and conduct the transactions with them, I hope you will be satisfied with the results, but as I have already written my sentiments to you this morning, I will add no more, but that I hope the Ministers will thoroughly investigate the affair, not allowing themselves to be seduced by either tears or professions, or by the wealth of the families of the guilty, and thus stop all complaining. As to the poor blind uncle, the honest bishop, and the honest lady the aunt, they are of small account, and the brother will think no more of it, being too faithful a servant of the King, and I give him up to the bad position which his obstinacy and perverseness has brought him into: however, silence upon that point. We shall see a hundred at the gibbet before him, but if only fifty are executed he cannot be in the number, as his offence is not similar. But I will say no more, nor think further about him, and regret having given you the least trouble about him. As for the Cardinal, I do not know how he will finish, but he certainly does not inspire me with any confidence: I believe he is merely playing with all, so that when the King has left, he may remain in possession of despotic power. All here are satisfied with the retaking of Naples, and are preparing for the fete of St. Rosalie. Adieu, my dear Lady, a thousand compliments to Lord Nelson, and to the Chevalier, and

believe me, my dear friend, ever your sincere, constant and grateful

"CAROLINA.

"I have been requested to forward to you these two letters. Send me news, and rely on my eternal friendship."

TO THE SAME.

"July 19, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"The expedition of the 16th, and all that you have so obligingly and kindly written to me about it, have greatly interested me. I shall never be able to express to you how sensible I am of all your kindness. I am delighted that you went to see St. Elmo, and have taken some exercise, for I fear that you are too closely confined for your health, but the goodness of your heart sustains you, whilst it moves only for the benefit and welfare of others. To-day it has been excessively hot, and the heat begins to be oppressive. I hope that Capua will soon surrender, that they may not have to be exposed to the pernicious atmosphere which I dread for the brave foreign troops and excellent officers, and our more than brave Troubridge and Hallowell, those heroes of the Nile, the pupils of our brave and virtuous Admiral—ever will they be dear to me. The heat, want of sleep, and bad digestion affect my health, but that will pass off. All my dear children are well—I never go out except to some church or convent, which, thank God, are all closed. I fear you also must suffer much from the heat on board the vessel. They are making great preparations here for the fête of St. Rosalie, and the return of the King. The great and memorable anniversary of the 1st of August, which history will gratefully record, especially interests my feelings. I send you a little painting which a Sicilian brought me, it may please you, though unfortunately it is but a bad likeness. We know nothing of the Russians whom Mouschkin Pouschkin[1] says he expects every moment, they are very backward, and do not come with the alacrity of the English troops, who came to save Messina and Sicily, which without them would have been lost—I assure you I always remember that. The Cardinal is totally inactive, if his intentions are not pure; I still thank him for

[1] The Russian minister. The Count was succeeded by the Chevalier Italinsky.

his delicacy, and the justice he does me; I own I still remain undecided about him, and rather distrustful. I hear no more said about Micheroux, I see many offices filled, and many things done, which I pray God may all be for the best. Adieu, my dear friend. A thousand compliments to your dear husband, and to my virtuous brave hero, preserve all your friendship for me, and believe me for life your very attached and grateful friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

TO THE SAME.

"July 20, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I have no news to-day, I think the tide is unfavourable, but that shall not prevent my sending to you. We begin to experience great heat, from which there is no escape but the baths, which I have begun to take. We have literally nothing new, but my thoughts are all concentrated upon what may be passing on board the Foudroyant. I live very retired, and scarcely ever go out. They are occupied here in preparing fêtes for the return of the King, and for St. Rosalie. I hope your health, my dear Lady, is not affected by the extreme heat. In thought I am always near you. I send you again 600 ducats (£86.) to bestow as your benevolent soul suggests upon the unfortunate who need it, certain that it will be dispensed appropriately, for I know your heart. A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, to my valorous hero Nelson—believe, my dear friends, in my tender, sincere attachment, devotion, and gratitude till death. Adieu, dear friend, my dear Emma, my brave Lady, believe me for ever your sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

TO THE SAME.

"July 26, 1799.

"My very dear Lady,

"I was so hurried yesterday, that I could only partially reply to your kind letter, I think you must suffer very much from the heat on board. I appreciate all you do for me, and thank you for it—believe me, my dear Lady, that if I were not already deeply attached to you, this would have bound me for life, therefore you see how my gratitude increases

towards you. It is now very hot here, but being the season for it, we must bear it patiently. I feel very anxious for the decision as to where I am to go; and as respects the future, I feel the necessity for the presence of the King at Naples on the continent, more especially now that the Russians are coming by land, and the fate of Italy is about to be decided —but I feel an invincible repugnance to the place, and the people who have treated me so unjustly, and this struggle between my sentiments and my reason tortures me. I shall do willingly whatever is decreed, convinced that no combination of circumstances would make me happier than to be able to retire with a sufficiency into another country, where I had not been so calumniated, but as that is impossible, I must be patient and submit. I therefore beg pardon for having spoken of it to you. The affair of the squadron makes me uneasy, I still recognise the character and heart of the incomparable dear Lord Nelson, but I confess to you I do not think the squadron will go to sea, particularly with the Spaniards so near. I fear that they wish to draw out Lord Keith with his squadron, and then suddenly and unawares to him make for Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, or Palermo, and with their force attempt a bad blow. Such is my opinion, but I hope I may be mistaken—the withdrawal of St. Vincent was a fatal mistake. I am persuaded that Lord Keith was actuated by jealousy of the immortal glory which no person or event can wrest from our dear and valorous Admiral. Inform me, my dear Lady, I pray you, when they think of returning, in order that I may be prepared without delay to meet you—what shall I say to you, my dear Lady, for all the obligations I am under, they are boundless, and fixed in my grateful heart. Adieu, do not forget me. A thousand compliments to your dear husband, and to our hero Nelson, and believe me for life your very attached and sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

TO THE SAME.

"July 28, 1799.

"My very dear Lady and good friend,

"I seize every opportunity I have of writing to you, I feel such great pleasure in doing so. I received your kind letter

of Thursday, and sincerely thank you for its contents, believe me my attachment to you is unbounded, and will only cease with life. Your assiduity in writing to me is highly gratifying, and I shall always feel grateful to you for it. I regret to see that Scipione la Marra, an honest and faithful man, such as I wish the King had more of about him, is being disgusted; the charge made against him by the Cardinal of his being a spy, is really ridiculous; but from the beginning of his journey in Calabria he has held such notions, bringing them from Naples, where the scoundrels invented them to cast odium upon me, and do me injury, but which was done merely to conceal their fear of their guilty practices being discovered. He has sent away from Calabria, and discharged several persons whom the King and the Government had sent him. When a man fears a spy, it is a sign that there is something doubtful existing. I confess that with whatever restrictions he may be subjected to, if he remain and continue the Government at the departure of the King I shall fear very much for his projects and conduct. I much wish to see you again at Palermo, to talk over several points which I cannot write about. I look anxiously for the Foudroyant, which will restore so many dear persons to me, and I beg you, my dear Lady, to communicate to Lord Nelson that my silence to him results only from my feeling it to be impossible to express to him the deep gratitude I feel for his heroic firmness in not leaving us at such a critical moment. I am glad that the honest Bishop of Caserta has come, and has been well received by the King. I thank you, my dear friend, for the assurances and consolations that you have given him, which is another obligation to add to those I already owe you. I thank you for the three designs you have sent me, it is a present which has given me great pleasure; they have been seen and examined by every body in the antechamber, and have given great satisfaction. I beg you to order for me all the paintings on the subject of the Republic, as on the return of the King I should like to purchase and make a collection of them; your kind attention has produced this wish. I was much flattered by what you said in your last letter, and feel glad that you render justice to a man whom I esteem, but the conduct of all his family in this infamous Revolution renders the pro-

ject impossible, besides, our nobility must have a man who can awe them; that is essential, and further, a post forced upon one in these times, is one of the greatest of misfortunes. Duty and extreme attachment can alone induce services which are rewarded with the ingratitude of the public, or, at least, its injustice,—that is my opinion, but we will talk more of it when I have the pleasure of seeing you. I am glad you were satisfied with Custode, he is a man of spirit, activity, and intelligence, but a man who must be restrained; it was he who took away all the papers and archives from Makan's house, and if it had not been for the knave de Medici, we should then have discovered the treason, and have been enabled to prevent its horrid consequences; but notwithstanding that, Custode told the Secretary of it, and all the papers were placed in our hands; thus you see, he is skilful and zealous, but capricious; he was enchanted with your reception of him, and has already written to me about it. I also recommend Tschoudy to your notice, he is a brave loyal officer, attached to the service; when you return, I will shew you all his letters, what he says of the Captains, &c. He can never finish his eulogiums of Troubridge and Hallowell; in a word, he is delighted with the English. I send this evening a letter to the King, and also to the General, from the unfortunate Pignatelli. The King, on his return from the retaking of Naples, might, I think, grant pardon to him, and to Pépé and Migliano; the three unfortunate beings have erred but are not Jacobins, and they say that seven months disgrace, apparently to please the Allies, ought to suffice. I solicit then a good word for them from you, if the tutelary héro Nelson approves it. General Pignatelli demands to be tried at Naples. I think him an attached, devoted man, but think that he has been bewildered by so many horrors. Pardon me, my dear Lady, but you love to confer a benefit, it is a pleasure to you. A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, to our dear, valorous Lord, and believe me for life your attached and grateful friend."

TO THE SAME.

"July 30, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I write to you by a trusty man, who is going to Naples, Angelo di Cosenza. I sent him nearly a month since to Naples

to point out the subterranean and concealed ways of St. Elmo, but he had the misfortune to be taken by a pirate, and carried to Cagliari, at the very time they were declaring for us, so he was set free. He is a man of great courage, who only desires to be serviceable to the King, and who knows all the rascals in Naples. I venture to inclose you a letter, my dear Lady, which, on the 1st of August, a day ever memorable to me, you will present to our hero, the defender of Italy, the liberator of the Two Sicilies, for which, as long as I live, I shall feel sincerely grateful. I fear that your health, my dear, dear Emma, will suffer from this heat and the confinement of a vessel. I count the hours until I see you again, and oh! how many obligations to you does not my grateful heart acknowledge, your troubles for me I shall never forget. I beg you to have the kindness to distribute the 1000 ducats (£142. 6*s.* 7*d.*), which I send you, as you think best; there is besides that Luciana who calls herself Fortunata, another common woman, called Piete de Pesce, at the statue of San Gennaro in Strada Nuova; pardon these commissions, but I know your excellent heart, and take advantage of it. My health is but indifferent, on account of the heat and disquietudes I meet with, but gradually I hope I shall recover from them. Adieu, my dear Lady, I count the minutes until I see you all again to assure you of my sentiments of gratitude and friendship, which will continue as long as the life of your sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"A thousand compliments to the Chevalier and to the dear Admiral, I desire to see you all again very soon.

"I have received your kind letter, with all the inclosures for Giambelli, I return you infinite thanks, my dear and amiable Lady, my gratitude will last for life, and I am ever devoted to you."

TO THE SAME.

"My very dear Lady,

"You would scarcely believe how very desirous I felt to be with you on the 1st of August, at table with our hero, and all his fellow heroes, companions, and officers. I should have

given so heartily the *hip, hip, hip*, that in spite of the cannon's roar, my voice would have been heard, so deeply is my heart penetrated. Indeed, I was very sorry to be absent. I was very much displeased by the slight notice taken of the King by the people on first seeing him, but there were compliments, verses, sonnets, &c. but which do not dupe me now; they have done the same for Championet, and would do the same for Macdonald if he came with 6000 men. I know how to value such illusions. This will probably meet you on the road; I am impatient to see you again, and to thank you for your innumerable attentions. Adieu, my dear Lady, a thousand compliments to our hero and to your dear husband, and believe me always your sincere friend."

"August 3, 1799."

Arrangements having been made for the safety of Naples, Nelson sailed for Palermo, the King, his principal ministers, Sir William and Lady Hamilton accompanying him personally to acquaint the Queen with what had taken place.

The following letter to Lady Hamilton gives some information as to the proceedings of the mob at this time:—

"Dear Lady Hamilton,

"I am almost ashamed to trouble you again, but the dreadful scenes of horror to which my poor friend was witness yesterday, the confusion and impossibility to pass, her late arrival from town where she at one time must have remained hemmed in all night amidst everything shocking, has so much alarmed me lest she should meet with the same or greater danger to-day, as the Mole is so excessively populous and full of unruly mob, that we shall esteem it a particular favour if your Ladyship, in presenting our best respects to Lord Nelson, would request that he would permit his boat to take us up here. My dear friend Mrs. Bottalia has been under many fears lest the unfortunate Mr. Martino may have fallen a victim last night, as many innocent have done to the desire of plunder veiled under the cloak of zeal for the royal cause—mobs do not consider justice. From her principle of humanity she was in the midst of those dangers. She had business in town,

and went to the Mole to send Joseph to the ship for MS. papers of safety, and as he drives us, was obliged to wait in all that mob for his return. Her late stay in Naples alarmed me much, therefore I flatter myself your Ladyship and Lord Nelson will pardon me this request that she may not be in other danger.

"Your Ladyship's

"Most obedient and obliged humble servant,

"WM. COMPTON.

"Posilipo, July 3, 1799.

"P. S. Santaleno, who claims merit from being the first to set up the King's colours on this battery (where till last night there has been a guard of twenty-five men, but then ordered away by a notary public who has some authority, not to go to assist in the siege but to save the expense), gave me a memorial which he was anxious to present through Sir William and Lady Hamilton to Lord Nelson, to have that or a new guard; this neighbourhood being in great fear lest a plundering banditti or a troop of Jacobins should come hither to rob and murder, &c. as in Naples. I take the liberty to inclose it to your Ladyship, who is the general patroness of the distressed in these perilous times."

At this period much of the time of Lord Nelson, Sir William and Lady Hamilton seems to have been taken up with apologies and appeals to clemency from those who had either aided the rebels or stood aloof under the distresses of Naples. In the following letter, addressed to Mrs. Cadogan, the mother of Lady Hamilton, the annoyance of these applications is alluded to:—

"Foudroyant, Naples, July 17, 1799.

"My dear Signora Madre,

"I cannot longer resist the pleasure it will give me to write you a line, especially as I can tell you that Sir William is grown very much better since his embarkation. Our dear Lady is also, I can assure you, perfectly well; but has her time so much taken up with excuses from rebels, Jacobins, and fools, that she is every day most heartily tired. Our conversation is, as often as we are liberated from these teazers,

of you and our other friends in the house at Palermo; and I hope we shall very soon return to see you. Till then recollect that we are restoring happiness to the kingdom of Naples, and doing good to millions. Remember me kindly to Graeffer and the children. Tell them I hope they are much improved in their dancing, and particularly in *French*, as I hear you have taken a new master for them. Believe me we all long to see you, and we will go and dine at the Colli from a dinner of your ordering for us. Captain Troubridge goes against Capua to-morrow, and I am sure he will very soon take it. Mr. White goes with him as a volunteer. Harryman is made a Colonel, and he now hopes Lady K. will have no objection to his connection in her family—in short the poor man is almost mad with anger. God bless you, my dear Madam, and believe me ever your obliged and affectionate

"NELSON."

Lady Hamilton had unbounded influence through the Queen with his Sicilian Majesty, and was repeatedly solicited to become the medium of appeal to their Majesties for merciful consideration. The following letter from the officers of the Leviathan will prove how notorious was her power:—

"Leviathan, Naples Bay, 17th July, 1799.

"Madam!

"We, the undersigned officers of his Majesty's ship, the Leviathan, having sought, but in vain, some means of alleviating the miseries of the unfortunate family of Peatti, who are on board here; have at length unanimously assured ourselves that their most effectual deliverance would be obtained if your Ladyship's interference could but be procured on their behalf. The reason we venture to address ourselves to you in particular is plain, because we have heard many instances of your Ladyship's unbounded humanity, which we trust will plead an excuse (more powerfully than any thing else can) in our request, 'that your Ladyship will be pleased to present his Sicilian Majesty with the inclosed petition.'

"We all feel ourselves deeply impressed with the horrid crime of disaffection to one's lawful Sovereign, and the miseries to one's country that must inevitably ensue; but

when we consider the frailty of human nature, how apt mankind are to be misguided, and above all, the sincere and unfeigned repentance of the Peatti family, of which we have been eye-witnesses, we have flattering hopes that, aided by your Ladyship's benevolence, they will have the good fortune to experience their King's pardon. We have the honour to subscribe ourselves with the highest respect,

"Your Ladyship's most devoted humble servants,

"Richard Peacocke,	1st Lieut.
"E. Church,	2nd Lieut.
"C. M. Gregory,	3rd Lieut.
"M. Kelly,	4th Lieut.
"J. Morell,	5th Lieut.
"J. Broeskman,	6th Lieut.
"F. Cottrell,	7th Lieut.
"Geo. Holbrook,	Master.
"Alex. Anderson,	Surgeon."

Lord Keith had, on the 27th of June, directed Lord Nelson to send such ships as he could possibly spare off the island of Minorca, an order he determined to disobey in conformity to an opinion expressed by him in his letter to Earl Spencer, July 13th, the day he received Lord Keith's communication. He says: "Should such an order come at this moment, it would be a cause for some consideration, whether Minorca is to be risked, or the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily? I rather think my decision would be to risk the former." Nelson had just dispatched a force to the siege of Capua and Gaeta, and upon the accomplishment of those two objects, he was willing to send eight or nine ships of the line to Minorca. Upon his disobedience of orders he thus writes to Earl Spencer: "I have done what I thought right; others may think differently; but it will be my consolation that I have gained a kingdom, seated a faithful ally of his Majesty firmly on his throne, and restored happiness to millions. Do not think, my dear Lord, that my opinion is formed from the arrangements of any one. *No;* be it good, or be it bad, it is all my own. It is natural I should wish the decision of the Admiralty and my Commander-in-chief as speedily as

possible."[1] The Secretary to the Admiralty communicated to Lord Nelson their Lordships' disapproval of his conduct in not obeying the orders of his Commander-in-chief, nor did they approve his permitting 1000 seamen to form part of the army destined to attack Capua, and take part in operations at such a distance from the coast.

The date of the communication from the Admiralty above alluded to, is August 20, 1799, and it is not a little remarkable that on the same day another should emanate from the same office assigning to him the duties of Commander-in-chief in the absence of Lord Keith, who was dispatched in search of the combined fleet. In acknowledging the censure of the Admiralty, he observes, in his letter to the Secretary of the date of September 20th, at Palermo: "I am honoured with your letter of August 20th, conveying to me their Lordships' approbation of my conduct in having gone into the Bay of Naples, for the purpose of endeavouring to bring his Sicilian Majesty's affairs in that city to a happy conclusion, and of my having landed a large body of men to reduce the Castle of St. Elmo. I have also received their Lordships' disapprobation of my conduct in having sent a part of the crews of the squadron against Capua, and their direction not to employ them in like manner in future. And I also observe, and with great pain, that their Lordships see no cause which could justify my disobeying the orders of my commanding officer, Lord Keith, or for leaving Minorca exposed to the risk of being attacked.

"I have to request that you will have the goodness to assure their Lordships that I knew, when I decided on those important points, that perhaps my life, certainly my commission, was at stake by my decision; but, being firmly of opinion, that the honour of my King and country, the dearest object of my heart [were involved], and that to have deserted the cause and person of his Majesty's faithful ally, his Sicilian Majesty, would have been unworthy my name, and their Lordships' former opinion of me, I determined at all risks to support the honour of my gracious Sovereign and country, and not to shelter myself under the letter of the law, which

[1] Letter Book. Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 409.

I shall never do when put in competition with the public service.

"I only wish to appeal to his Sicilian Majesty, Sir John Acton, Bart., and his Excellency Sir William Hamilton, whether they are not clearly of opinion, that if I had drawn any part of the force, landed from the squadron, from the shore, that Capua and Gaeta would at this moment have been in the hands of the French, and who can say what evil consequences might not have ensued from it?"[1]

On the following day he addresses Earl Spencer:—

"Palermo, September 21st, 1799.

"My dear Lord,

"As I have answered the Board on the subject of Mr. Nepean's letter of August 20th, I shall merely say a word to you upon it. I am fitter by far to do the thing than describe it, but common sense told me that Minorca could be in no danger by my breach of orders; and, my dear Lord, I only wish that I had been placed in Lord Keith's situation, off Cape dell Mell, I would have broke the orders like a piece of glass: in that case the whole marine of the French would have been annihilated, and all the fagging anxiety attending the watching Brest would have been at an end; and had I obeyed the letter of mine, Capua and Gaeta, the two keys of the kingdom, would have been in the hands of the French villains, although, I regret to say it, I do not believe any sea officer knows the sea and land business of the Mediterranean better than myself. I thank your Lordship for your kindness to Troubridge: he highly merits whatever the bounty of our gracious Sovereign is pleased to bestow. All the points to which the Board has directed my attention have been fully attended to. The three ships, Zealous, Majestic, and Goliath, are ready to sail the moment ships are sent to relieve them; Alexander, Lion, *certain*, and perhaps Audacious, must go to England; Thalia and Seahorse, frigates, Bull Dog, San Leon, Bonne Citoyenne, are in a sad state; The-

[1] From the Autograph in the Admiralty, printed in Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iv. p. 23.

seus also, when she comes from the Levant, must go to England. I wish not to have a ship more under my orders than the service requires; but my opinion is, that those ships are not fit to keep the sea the whole winter. I wish to bring the business of Malta to a close, and should rejoice if it could be done by the ships under my orders, and no vanity will keep me from co-operating most cordially with the Russian Admiral for the reduction of Malta; and the whole arrangement was made, and will continue, the moment the Russian troops arrive from F. M. Suwarrow; and to prevent all jealousy, it was agreed that the flag of his Sicilian Majesty should alone fly on the island, and in La Valetta, till the direction of these three allied Courts were received, that all the shipping in the port should not hoist any colours, but remain at the disposal of the three Courts. I have seen that jealousy between the Allies has served the cause of the French more than their arms.

"When the Foudroyant returns, and Troubridge comes from trying whether the French cannot be induced to quit Cività Vecchia, I shall again try with all my might to urge the King to go to Naples. The Queen joins Sir William and Lady Hamilton most earnestly in this desire; but his Majesty would now fear to go to reside at Naples without foreign troops; in one respect, certainly, he has no good reason to trust himself with Neapolitan troops; but, on the other hand, the capital is in such distress, for want of the money spent by the Court, that the case is alarming, and riots may be expected, and disgust to their Majesties may arise in the place of the sincerest love and attachment, of which Mr. Thugot will not fail to avail himself. If his Sicilian Majesty does not go to Naples for a month to come, I shall go to Minorca, and arrange a proper naval force for its protection. I hope to induce Sir James St. Clair, or General Fox, to send 1200 men to either Malta or the kingdom of Naples, at both which places a field of glory is open. The taking of Malta would relieve us greatly; and if they go to Naples, we will get a force, and take after Rome, Ancona. If I do not succeed at Minorca, I shall probably visit Malta. Your Lordship may rely that all the force entrusted to me shall be actively employed, and

for that reason it is no use employing any but ships fit for service.

"I remain, dear Lord,
"Your obliged and faithful
"NELSON.

"Earl Spencer."

Capua and Gaeta surrendered to Captain Troubridge on the 31st of July.

On the 19th of July Lord Nelson received another order from Lord Keith of the date of the 9th, to send ships to Minorca, which he also failed to obey, assigning to Lord Keith as his reason for such neglect: "I believe the safety of the kingdom of Naples depends, at the present moment, on my detaining the squadron. I have no scruple in deciding that it is better to save the kingdom of Naples and risk Minorca, than to risk the kingdom of Naples to save Minorca."

He also wrote on the 19th to Evan Nepean, Esq. "I feel the importance of the decision I have taken, and know I subject myself to a trial for my conduct; but I am so confident of the uprightness of my intentions for his Majesty's service, and for that of his Sicilian Majesty, which I consider as the same, that, with all respect, I submit myself to the judgment of my superiors."[1]

Minorca he looked upon as menaced, but did not think it would be attacked.

The junction of the French with the Spanish fleet was effected, forming forty-three sail of the line. They sailed from Carthagena on the 29th of June, their object being thought by some to be for the Tagus, and to carry Lisbon, whilst others looked upon Ireland as the chief object of pursuit.

On the 22nd of July Lord Nelson ordered Rear-Admiral Duckworth[2] to proceed with the Powerful, the Majestic, the

[1] Autograph in the Admiralty.

[2] Sir John Thomas Duckworth was born at Leatherhead in Surrey in 1747-8, and entered the Navy in 1759 as a Midshipman under Captain Charles Fielding in the Kent, 74 guns. This vessel in 1774, while saluting the Admiral as she was sailing out of Plymouth Sound sustained a severe accident, by which about fifty men were killed and wounded. It arose from some of the wadding of the guns communicating with some powder in the ammunition chest on the poop, which occasioned the aftermost magazine to blow up. The beams of the quarter-deck were forced in, and various other injuries occasioned. The subject of this notice was on board the ship at the time, and fortunately escaped injury. In 1770 he

Vanguard, and the Swallow corvette to Mahon, and together with whatever vessels he might find there to take under his

was made a Lieutenant, and in 1771 he sailed with Captain Fielding to America conveying troops. He remained at Halifax until 1779, when he was made a Commander, and served on the West India station, being present at the action with the Count d'Estaing off Grenada. In 1780 he was made a Post Captain, and commissioned to the Terrible of 74 guns, which, however, he soon quitted for the Princess Royal. He went to Jamaica, and returned to England with a convoy. Upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary war in 1793, he was appointed to the Orion, 74 guns, and attached to Lord Howe in the Channel fleet. He was present in the celebrated battles of the 28th and 29th May, and the 1st of June, 1794. On these occasions he greatly distinguished himself, and received a gold medal and ribbon. In 1795 he was with the Channel fleet looking out for the French fleet, which from bad weather had been obliged to put back to Brest. In 1796 he was in the West Indies, in command of the Leviathan, and engaged in making capture of many vessels. He returned to England in 1797, and in 1798, was again in the Channel fleet with Lord Bridport; he afterwards joined Earl St. Vincent in the Mediterranean, and with General Sir Charles Stuart succeeded in the reduction of Minorca. He then returned to the Mediterranean, and continued there until 1800. During this time he had been promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the White. In 1800 he fell in with a valuable Lima convoy, which yielded him an excellent prize, and he then succeeded Vice-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour in the command of the Leeward Islands. In 1801 he commanded a squadron to seize upon the Swedish and Danish possessions in the West Indies, and having succeeded in his enterprise, he received the honour of Knight Companion of the Order of the Bath, and was also made a Colonel of Marines. Upon the breaking out of hostilities in 1803 he was appointed Commander-in-chief at Jamaica, and in 1804 he was raised to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and was succeeded in his command by Rear-Admiral Dacres. The House of Assembly returned their thanks to Sir J. T. Duckworth for his defence of the coast, and his protection of commerce, and presented him with a sword. He was soon after appointed second in command in the Mediterranean fleet, hoisting his flag in the Superb, 74 guns, and was sent by Lord Collingwood in quest of a French squadron. He obtained a signal victory, five sail of the line having surrendered to him in less than two hours. For this exploit he received the thanks of Parliament, the Freedom of the City of London, a sword valued at 200 guineas, and a vase from the Patriotic Fund of the value of 400 guineas. He was now appointed to the Royal George, of 110 guns, in the Mediterranean fleet. He was detached by Lord Collingwood, and made the passage of the Dardanelles, sending Captain Capel to Constantinople with dispatches for the Sublime Porte. The Captain was however unable to get within four miles of the city, and after much time spent in fruitless negotiation, Sir John Duckworth determined upon re-passing the Dardanelles; an undertaking of a most serious and hazardous nature. Upon his return he was again second in command in the Channel fleet, and in 1810 appointed Governor and Commander-in-chief at Newfoundland, which he held until 1813, when a Baronetcy was conferred upon him. In 1815 he was made Commander-in-chief at the port of Plymouth, where he resided at the Admiralty House, and died on the 31st of August, 1817, aged 69 years. He was a Knight Commander of the Bath, and Admiral of the White.

protection the island of Minorca. On the 1st of August Nelson sent two more ships of the line, the Bellerophon and the Zealous, to Minorca.

Rear-Admiral Duckworth wrote thus to Lady Hamilton:—

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"Though I have no news to relate, or the society of *Princesses*, whose beauties might be my theme, yet I have a monitor which tells me your Ladyship and Sir William have been kind and friendly; therefore, sooner will I lay under the charge of stupidity than negligence, and the weather is always the topic when your brain is not very fertile. I must say it is so intensely hot here, that it has melted the few I had, and alas! the sickly season seems to be spreading its ravages. I hope neither you, or our good friend Lord Nelson have met that evil in addition to Capua and the other anxieties you have to combat with: but the French out of Tuscany and Lucca, with Buonaparte, I hope, dished, all must go well, if we could receive good tidings from the fleet. The last we know was, that on the 22nd ult. Lord Keith was at the back of the Rock, and the combined fleets said to have sailed from Cadiz on the 20th, and we are now on the tenter-hooks of expectation for news from Gibraltar, which of course will move as rapidly to Lord Nelson as in my power. Sad to tell, our valuable friend, that great man, Lord St. Vincent, had the enemies' fleet close under his nose for four days before they got through the Gut, and I understand the whole time from day-break to dark, he stood viewing them, as fixed as a statue, the picture of woe! A lesson—ah! a volume for arrogant man! God bless you, my dear Lady Hamilton; say all that is respectful and kind to Sir William. Assure Lord Nelson of my respectful attachment. Don't forget me to Mrs. Cadogan and Graeffer, and be assured I am,

"Your Ladyship's
"obliged and affectionate friend, and
"faithful humble servant,
J. T. DUCKWORTH.

"Leviathan, Port Mahon,
"August 9, 1799."

Lord Keith must have entertained a very high opinion of Lord Nelson's judgment to have permitted the disobedience of orders to pass by without animadversion. On the 12th of July he gave his congratulations to Nelson on the happy turn of affairs in Naples; offered any ship he had to assist him; expressed the annoyance he felt at not meeting with the French fleet, and in being burthened with Minorca, a defenceless island. He says: "I give you many thanks for your kind expressions towards me, and I have much comfort in reflecting I have one of such a description so near me." He desires to be remembered to Sir William Hamilton, and begs him to advise the Neapolitans not to be too sanguine. "Cowards (says he) are always cruel, and apostates the most violent against their former friends, and too often the least sincere. Give them fair words and little confidence."

On the 27th of June Leghorn[1] was captured, and on the

[1] The following letter from the Hon. W. Wyndham, Minister at Florence, to Sir William Hamilton, gives information of this event:—

"Florence, 18th July, 1799.

"My dear Sir,

"I promised to do myself the honour of writing to you whenever there was any interesting news to give you. This, which I at present send by express, I consider to be of the utmost importance, both for the military operations and for commerce. The Aretin (?) army entirely taking possession of the Mareamma (?) had advanced a column to the Monte Nero, where they encamped with some artillery at about six miles distant from Leghorn. On the 16th inst. the certain news arrived of a large body of Austrians, both horse and foot, being on their march from Modena towards Tuscany. A courier being arrived to the French General commanding the troops in Leghorn, notified to him the complete defeat of General Moreau near Carragliano, and ordered him to evacuate Tuscany immediately, in consequence of which the French General invited General La Villettes and the Municipality of Leghorn to assemble at his house, and with La Villettes and the Auditor Alliate, they signed the capitulation, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose.

"The capitulation signed, the French General gave orders for the immediate evacuation of the city of Leghorn, Pisa, Peschia, and I have the pleasure to inform you that a few hours afterwards these places were evacuated, and Tuscany is now entirely free. Lucca will probably be so to-morrow. Immediately on the evacuation of the French troops, the infamous tree of liberty was thrown down, and the arms of the French Republic, and those of the Republic who have followed the French system. The joy of the people is beyond conception: they now hope to see English ships and commerce return, and I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that you would do a great charity to Tuscany, if you could encourage the English at Palermo to send here their merchandize, and likewise some of which Tuscany is in great want.

following day Nelson received intelligence of the taking of Capua, the garrison of which consisted of 2,817 regular troops, by Captain Troubridge, and Captain Louis,[1] of the Minotaur,

"Mr. Udney sets off to-morrow for Leghorn, where the people have already erected the British arms over his door in triumph, and where he will be carried on the backs of the people, who are mad with joy. Now, dear Sir, since the conduct of the Aritans you must respect the Tuscans. I have given directions for the security of some very valuable effects which I hear are in the house of Cav. Spani at Leghorn, treasures of the Royal house of Naples, robbed by the French. Macdonald is embarked with his troops for Genoa. God grant he may fall in with some of our convoys or privateers. Mantua is about to fall, if it is not yet fallen; a breach is made, and the French have lost 800 men and four cannon in a sortie; besides the French Commandant is in and has signified to General Wray that he will surrender as soon as *decency* will permit. I have seen a letter from General Wray to the Commanding Officer of the Austrians here, which says that he expects to have Mantua every day. The Austrians and Russians are now immediately on the point of attacking Genoa, which place they are determined to have at all events. It is a great pity we have not a force there at this moment. Alexandria, though bombarded by the Russians for some time, still holds out; it is, however, expected to surrender daily.

"I can assure you, Sir, that the French power is at an end in Italy, Switzerland, &c. I wish I had time to give you more details, but I have thousands of letters to write. Half the affairs of this Government are thrust into my hands, and alone, without any secretary or assistant; you must therefore pardon me, and I conclude by assuring you, Sir, that I have the honour to be, with great esteem and respect,

"Your obliged and obedient humble servant,

"W. WYNDHAM.

"Pray excuse my having used another hand to write to you, having much to do, and many dispatches to write. My compliments to Lady Hamilton."

[The hand-writing of the scribe is so bad that it has been very difficult to make out many words of the above.]

[1] Sir Thomas Louis, Bart. was born at Exeter in 1758, and served as Midshipman before he had completed his twelfth year, in the Fly sloop of war, commanded by Captain Graham, and removed thence to the Southampton frigate, Captain (afterwards Admiral) Macbride. He was made Lieutenant of the Bienfaisant in 1777, and was in the action with Count d'Orvilliers in 1778. In the following year he became First Lieutenant, and joined the squadron under the command of Rodney for the relief of Gibraltar. He was at the capture of a Spanish convoy, and also of the Guipuscoana of 64 guns. He distinguished himself in the action with Don Juan de Langara, and was appointed Prize Master of the Phœnix, one of the finest ships ever built in Spain. He was afterwards at the taking of the Comte d'Artois of 64 guns, and shortly after of the Comtesse d'Artois, a French privateer. In 1781 he was made Commander, and in 1782 he raised 5000 men in Ireland, voted by the Irish Parliament for the use of Government. At the conclusion of the American war in 1783, he was made a Post Captain, and remained on half pay until the commencement of the Revolutionary war in 1793. In 1794

was sent on the 30th of July to the French Governor of Gaeta, to communicate the terms of capitulation[1] entered into between Sir John Acton, Nelson, and Girardon, General of Brigade, the Commandant of Capua, for the surrender of Gaeta, with directions to embark the French garrison at that place. The Governor, however, was indisposed to yield to this representation, and on the 3rd of August Lord Nelson wrote to Captain Louis: "You carried with you the treaty, and in two hours after your arrival, and the capitulation was presented, you was to take possession of the gates, and in twenty-four hours the garrison were to be embarked, I am hurt and surprised that the capitulation has not been complied with. It shall be, and the Commander has agreed to it. I have not read your paper inclosed. You will execute my orders, or attack it. The fellow ought to be kicked for his impudence. You will instantly take possession of the gates and the fortress."[2] Before this letter arrived, the matter was settled, and on the 4th August Nelson acknowledges the receipt of the intelligence, saying, "There is no way of dealing with a

he was in the Channel fleet, commanding the Minotaur, 74 guns, and cruising off the French coast. He afterwards sailed in Lord Howe's fleet, escorting the East and West India convoys; was then with Lord Bridport, and in 1797 joined Earl St. Vincent. He was detached with Sir Horatio Nelson in 1798, and behaved most gallantly at the Battle of the Nile. The City of London presented him with a sword, and his native place, Exeter, voted to him the freedom of the city. In 1799 he took possession of the Roman territory, and received from Ferdinand, King of Naples, the Sicilian order of St. Ferdinand and Merit for his services on this occasion. After a continued service in the Mediterranean, he was, in 1801, sent to the coast of Egypt, and retired on half-pay in 1802. Upon the renewal of the war he was again employed, being appointed to the Conqueror, 74 guns, and was made a Rear-Admiral of the White, April 23, 1804. Appointed to the Canopus in 1805, he again joined Nelson, and was engaged in the long pursuit after the French fleet, but being sent on a service of importance to Tetuan Bay, he was absent from the Battle of Trafalgar. Upon his return from the Mediterranean, he fell in with Sir John Duckworth, and shared in his glorious exploit in the West Indies. For his bravery in this affair he received the thanks of Parliament, the present of a vase valued at £300. from the Patriotic Fund, and on the 29th March, 1806, was created a Baronet. He returned to the Mediterranean, came to England, and was afterwards dispatched by Lord Collingwood with a small squadron off the Dardanelles. He went through the Strait with Sir John Duckworth, and afterwards proceeded to Alexandria, where he died from an attack of inflammation of the bowels, terminating in mortification, May 17, 1807. His remains were deposited beside those of Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

[1] For Terms of Capitulation, see Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 428.

[2] Letter Book.

Frenchman but to knock him down. To be civil to them is only to be laughed at, when they are enemies." Captain Louis was also to assist in an attack on Cività Vecchia with 500 marines and 600 Swiss, and to encourage the insurrection in the Roman States. Captain Troubridge was the principal officer to effect this object; he made terms with the French General Grenier for the evacuation of the city of Rome and Cività Vecchia, and the terms of capitulation appeared in the London Gazette of November 16, 1799.

Captain Hoste was with Commodore Troubridge when ordered to blockade Cività Vecchia, the principal sea-port in the Pope's dominions, and he was astonished to find that when summoned to surrender, the Governor not only entered into treaty for the town which he commanded, but also for Rome itself, in which place there was a garrison of 4000 men. The English marines and a party of seamen took possession of Cività Vecchia on the 28th of September, 1799, and the Neapolitan troops on the part of the English at the same time marched into Rome. Hoste significantly adds: "Thus was the whole Roman state, with its capital, once mistress of the world, taken by about 300 Englishmen. How much times are altered since Julius Cæsar landed in Britain, and how much have the Romans degenerated from their ancestors!"[1]

On the 4th of August Lord Nelson wrote to Lady Nelson, and gave an account of the celebration of the Anniversary of the Battle of the Nile at Naples. He says: "Thank God all goes on well in Italy, and the kingdom of Naples is liberated from thieves and murderers. But still, it has so overthrown the fabric of a regular Government, that much time and great care are necessary to keep the country quiet. The 1st of August was celebrated here with as much respect as our situation would admit. The King dined with me; and when his Majesty drank my health, a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from all his Sicilian Majesty's ships of

[1] Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 115. A Father McCormick, a very honest worthy Irish priest, animated by great zeal in the support of the Royal cause, and almost an idolator of Nelson for his exertions, upon being introduced to him, prophetically declared that his Lordship should take Rome by his ships. Unlikely as this then appeared, and indeed almost preposterously absurd, it was nevertheless verified by Captain Troubridge, who had conducted the operations, which led to the evacuation of the Roman states by the French.

war, and from all the Castles. In the evening there was a general illumination. Amongst other representations, a large vessel was fitted out like a Roman galley; on its oars were fixed lamps, and in the centre was erected a rostral column with my name: at the stern were elevated two angels supporting my picture. In short, my dear Fanny, the beauty of the whole is beyond my powers of description. More than 2000 variegated lamps were suspended round the vessel. An orchestra was fitted up, and filled with the very best musicians and singers. The piece of music was in a great measure to celebrate my praise, describing their previous distress, 'but Nelson came, the invincible Nelson, and they were preserved, and again made happy.' This must not make you think me vain; no, far, very far from it, I relate it more from gratitude than vanity."[1]

On the 5th of August Nelson gave Captain Troubridge a broad red pendant, and made him Commodore of the squadron in Naples Bay, and along the coast. Nelson arrived at Palermo on the 8th, and landed with the King, who was received with manifestations of great joy and loyalty. Whilst the Royal family of Naples were on board his ship, Nelson constantly refused to receive any money, or jewels, or recompense in any way for the expenses incurred. He expected the Admiralty would reimburse him.

On the 3rd of September a splendid fête champêtre was given by their Sicilian Majesties to celebrate the recovery of the kingdom of Naples. On this occasion a grand temple of Fame was erected, in which were three figures, the size and exact resemblance of life, beautifully modeled in wax. The centre figure represented Admiral Lord Nelson, Duke of Bronte, dressed in a full British uniform, as conducted by a figure of Sir William Hamilton, to receive from the hand of a third, resembling Lady Hamilton in the character of Victory, the laurel wreath of triumph which adorned the hero's brow. Before the steps of this temple, their Sicilian Majesties, with all the Royal family, stood ready to receive the three illustrious characters thus represented; and, on their approach, after publicly embracing them, the King, with his own hand, took

[1] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 208.

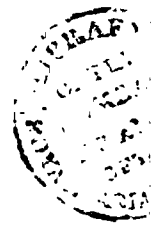
the laurel wreath from the wax figure, and placed it on the head of the real hero, who wore it during the whole of the entertainment. Sir William and his lady were also presented with similar investments; the Queen thus honouring her Ladyship, and his Majesty Sir William. On the robe of the figure of Victory were embroidered the names of all those heroes, in particular, who had fought at the Battle of the Nile; and on various Egyptian pyramids placed around the several temples of the garden, were inscribed the names of the most distinguished English, Neapolitan, Russian, and Turkish heroes of the war, with appropriate verses to each. Their Majesties received the company; which consisted of some of the principal nobility of Naples as well as of Palermo, with all the British, Russian, and Turkish officers of the respective squadrons. Prince Leopold, their Majesty's youngest surviving son, then nine years of age, who was educating for the Navy, did the honours of the evening, in his Midshipman's uniform: and all the three Princesses, as well as the consort of the Hereditary Prince, and most other ladies wore some ornament allusive to Lord Nelson and his victories round their necks. The entertainment commenced with a most brilliant and magnificent fire-work: representing the English and French fleets at Aboukir, the ever-memorable battle of the Nile, and the total defeat of the French; terminating with the explosion of L'Orient, and the blowing up of the tri-coloured flag. The Queen, at this representation, said to Cadir Bey, the Turkish Admiral: "On this day, last year, we received from Lady Hamilton intelligence of this great man's victory; which not only saved your country and ours, but all Europe!" After the fireworks a cantata was performed, entitled "The Happy Concord." This piece, which was written purposely on the occasion, expressed the general joy for the deliverance of the Two Sicilies; loyal wishes for the prosperity of their Sovereigns, and the Royal family, as well as for those of their worthy allies; and particular acknowledgments to the British hero. The music was most excellent; and all the Opera band, with Senesino at their head, sung—"Rule Britannia!" and, "God save the King!" in which they were joined by the whole assembly,

who had been previously drilled to the English pronunciation."[1]

Lieutenant Parsons was one of the British officers present at this fête, which was given at Colli, and he has written a lively account of it.[2] He says, it was a "fairy scene presented by the illuminated palace and the gardens, the assembled Royal family, the great in rank, the bold in arms, with Italy's nut-brown daughters, their lustrous black eyes, and raven tresses, their elegant and voluptuous forms gliding through the mazy dance; and the whole presided over by the Genius of Taste, whose attitudes were never equalled, and with a suavity of manner, and a generous openness of mind and heart, where selfishness, with all its unamiable concomitants, pride, envy, and jealousy, would never dwell—I mean Emma, Lady Hamilton." The splendour of the attire of the Turkish Admiral and his suite, and the contemptuous gravity with which they viewed the dancing, and the adoration bestowed on the fair sex, seems highly to have amused the Lieutenant, but some unpleasant rencontres between the Turks and the Italians took place, and called for Nelson's interference to settle their disputes. The Prince Leopold, Parsons says, mounted the steps behind the statue of Nelson, on which he placed a crown of laurel, richly inlaid with diamonds. The band played, "See, the conquering hero comes." Lord Nelson's feelings were deeply touched, and his tears flowed copiously down his weather-beaten cheeks, whilst on one knee he received the young Prince, encircling him with his one arm, the Prince at the same time embracing him, and calling him the guardian angel of his Papa and his dominions. The scene was deeply affecting to all present, and "many a countenance, that had looked with unconcern on the battle and the breeze, now turned aside, ashamed of their womanly weakness."

[1] Harrison's Life of Nelson, Vol. ii. p. 162.

Nelsonian Reminiscences, pp. 16—23.



CHAPTER X.

1799—1800.

On the 20th of August the following letter was written to Lord Nelson, by which he became acting Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.

"Admiralty Office, August 20, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to inform your Lordship, that, from the circumstances of Lord St. Vincent's having returned to England for the recovery of his health, and Lord Keith, with other flag-officers, having quitted the Mediterranean in pursuit of the combined fleets of the enemy, which are arrived at Brest, your Lordship is become the senior officer of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean; and that, till the return of Lord Keith, or some other your superior officer, you will have all the important duties of that station to attend to.

"It is probable, Lord Keith will have left, for your Lordship's information and guidance, such orders and instructions as he may have received either from their Lordships, or from Lord St. Vincent. But, lest his having quitted the station unexpectedly should have prevented his doing so, their Lordships think fit, that I should point out to you those objects to which it will be necessary you should be particularly attentive.

"Your Lordship is, on all occasions, to cultivate, to the utmost of your power, the most perfect harmony and good understanding with all his Majesty's allies: co-operating cordially with, and assisting, as far as circumstances will admit, their fleets and armies, and protecting their subjects: for which purposes, you are, till the French shall be entirely driven out of Italy, to keep such a part of your squadron as may be found necessary on the coast of Genoa, to prevent

them from receiving supplies, or to distress them in any other way that may be found practicable. Your Lordship is also to take such measures as shall to you appear most effectual for the speedy reduction of the town of Malta.

"Your Lordship is to be particularly attentive to the protection of the island of Minorca, where you are to station such a force as, from the information you may receive of the intentions of the Spaniards to attack, and the preparations they make for that purpose, you shall judge necessary.

"Your Lordship is to watch the motions of the ships remaining in the port of Cadiz, stationing off that port a sufficient force to blockade it, not only to prevent their ships of war from putting to sea, and their merchant ships from entering, but also to insure the safety of the convoys passing to and from the Mediterranean.

"Your Lordship is to be attentive to the trade of his Majesty's subjects, and that of his allies; giving it every protection in your power, and appointing convoys from one port to another, whenever other more essential services will admit of it.

"As, from the great exertions of the ships under the orders of Sir Sidney Smith, the French have been driven out of Syria, and as they will probably be very soon driven out of, or entirely destroyed in Egypt; it is their Lordships' commands, that you do, whenever you shall be informed of this, and that the services of Sir Sidney are no longer required on that coast, call the ships away, and employ them on other service.

"Having stated to your Lordship the different services to which it is necessary to direct your attention, I have only to add, that their Lordships have the greatest confidence in your zeal and exertions to perform them, as far as the force under your orders will admit.

"I have the honour to be,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"EVAN NEPEAN.

"Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson, K.B.
"Mediterranean." } By the Phaeton."

Some idea of the extent of duty, and of the means to perform it, may be estimated by the foregoing letter, and by the following memorandum of the disposition of the Squadron, and the condition of the ships on the 21st of September :—

"*Disposition of the Squadron under the command of Lord Nelson, the 21st September*, 1799.

[Original in the Admiralty.]

Le Tigre, 74
Theseus, 74
Cameleon, 18
} On the coast of Egypt, bad state.

Alexander, 74, very bad state
Audacious, 74, bad state
Lion, 64, very bad state
Success, 32
La Bonne Citoyenne, 20, bad state
El Corso, 16
Strombolo, bomb, 10, bad state
} Blockading Malta.

Culloden, 74
Minotaur, 74
Mutine, 18
Transfer, 14
Perseus, bomb, 20
} Off Cività Vecchia, and if they do not succeed, to return to Palermo.

Bellerophon, 74, bad state
Northumberland, 74
Seahorse, 38, to heave down, or go to England
Princess Charlotte, 36, not manned
Peterel, 16
San Leon, 14, bad state
} At Mahon.

Alceste, 36 { Not to be considered in force as a frigate : gone with convoy from hence to Mahon ; half manned.

Santa Dorotea, 34,—not known, very bad.
Santa Teresa, 34,—cruising off Genoa, to return to Mahon.
Courageux, 20,—not manned, at Mahon.

Leviathan, 74
Powerful, 74
Zealous, 74, must go to England
Majestic, 74, do. do.
Vanguard, 74
Goliath, 74, do. do.
Swiftsure, 74
La Minerve, 40
Emerald, 38, not known
Thalia, 36, represented as very bad
Mermaid, 32
Bulldog, 14, represented as very bad
Earl St. Vincent, cutter
Fulminante, do.
} At Gibraltar, and off Cadiz.

Foudroyant, 84 { Gone to Sardinia to convey his Sardinian Majesty and family to Leghorn, or some part of the Continent.

Alliance, half manned,—at Palermo, to proceed to England.

"*Portuguese Squadron:*

Principe Real, 92
Affonço, 74
Rainha, 74
St. Sebastian, 64
Benjamin, 18
} Off Malta, blockading that island,—all very bad state.

Balloon, 14,—gone to join Commodore Troubridge.
Any other ships on the station not known.

"NELSON."

On the 12th of September he wrote to Rear-Admiral Duckworth: "My mind is fixed that I will not keep one ship in the Mediterranean which is not fit for *any* service. During the winter those half fit drain us of all the stores, and render us all useless."

On the 2nd of October the Phaeton brought him intelligence of thirteen sail of the line of the enemy having been seen on the 8th and 9th of September off Cape Ortegal, upon which he immediately determined to proceed to Port Mahon, ordering Captain Troubridge to meet him there, and he directed other vessels to proceed to Gibraltar. Whilst on his way to Gibraltar, he met with the Bulldog, which relieved him of the necessity of proceeding further, as he learnt that the vessels seen had proved to be Spanish, and they got into Ferrol on the 14th.

In October the Queen of Naples continued her correspondence with Lady Hamilton:—

"October 12, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I wish to know how you are, and also the Chevalier; I hope the cow arrived last night in good condition, and that she will prove serviceable. I am going to the Colli to attend the Council, and to take leave of the King, as I am going to-morrow with my children to the Bagaria,[1] to try and regain my health: the suffering I see on all sides affects me too much. Pray let me have news of you, my dear friend, I am quite impatient for it. Yesterday I was very feverish and am really ill; I fear that I shall never recover. Were it not for my daughters I should wish to bid adieu to the world, and

[1] A country house.

retire into a convent, there to terminate my days, a desire prompted by the circumstances in which I am placed.

"Our news are that Bourcard took possession of Rome half an hour before the Austrians. Frolick was very much piqued by it, but withdrew his troops; he sent this bulletin of good news to Bourcard, which I translate and communicate to you, hoping it is true. Adieu, my very dear Lady; take care of yourself, be happy, and think of me. Do not forget to send me news of yourself, they are always interesting to me, and believe me for life your attached and grateful friend.

"A thousand compliments to the Chevalier and to Miss Knight."

TO THE SAME.

"October 15, 1799.

"My dear Lady,

"I hope you are not ill, but you give me no sign, even of being alive, although I have heard that you see company, and look well; that is a comfort to me. Have you no news from our hero? They say here that the King talks of going to Naples in the middle of November, and that I am to remain here. I do not know if the first part is true, but the second certainly is not, for I will positively go with him, being convinced of the necessity of the Government being there, and besides that, to please all my friends, who so much desire this visit. I wish for nothing but good to result from it, but I protest that I think his presence necessary. Were I king, I should have been there long since, or, indeed, should never have left, but should have risked and should certainly have conquered. I shall be ready in three days to accompany him. I promise you, that though I follow, yet I would never force the King to go there, for the race of Ravillac and Damiens is not extinct, but the contrary, and I do not wish to burthen my feelings with such shocking apprehensions. I regret even having urged his first visit, for being thirty-six days on board ship, doing nothing of any utility or glory, seriously compromised him, but I am now ready to go with him whenever he wishes it, even should he go in a polacca. This is a long tirade by way of reply to the rumours current here. I know

no news whatever. A thousand compliments to the Chevalier. Keep yourself well, and believe me always your grateful friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

In November Nelson received from the Grand Signior the Order of the Crescent, the star of which was of diamonds, in acknowledgment of his zeal for the prosperity of the Sublime Porte. The respect paid to Nelson and the power exercised by him was very great. He wrote to Evan Nepean, Esq. on the 9th, and alluded to his extraordinary situation in this country. He says, "If I move, they think the country in danger, and that they are abandoned. If my flag is in a transport, they seem contented." On the 17th he re-hoisted his flag on board the Foudroyant, but that ship being required for Messina to take troops, &c. for Malta, she sailed with the Culloden on the 25th, and Nelson shifted his flag to the Amy transport.

Actively engaged as he was in the performance of his varied duties, and corresponding with an unparalleled constancy, it is surprising that a complaint to him should have emanated from the Admiralty of his allowing a convoy to depart without dispatches. He replies to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Nov. 26, 1799: "As a junior Flag Officer, of course, without those about me, as secretaries, interpreters, &c. I have been thrown into a more extensive correspondence than ever, perhaps, fell to the lot of any Admiral, and into a political situation, I own, out of my sphere. It is a fact, which it would not become me to boast of, but on the present occasion, that I have never but three times put my feet on the ground since December 1798, and except to the Court, that till after 8 o'clock at night, I never relax from business."[1] His sensitive nature breaks out in a letter to Earl Spencer, on the 28th November: "Do not, my dear Lord (he says), let the Admiralty write harshly to me,—my generous soul cannot bear it, being conscious it is entirely unmerited." How pathetic too in his letter to Commissioner Inglefield: "You must make allowances for a worn-out,

[1] Admiralty Papers.

blind, left-handed man." And this too from one only forty-one years of age, and all incurred by his great services rendered to his country.

Towards the end of December Nelson received the present of a gold-hilted sword and cane from the Presidents of Zante for his liberation of that part of Greece, effected by the Battle of the Nile, an offering which he most highly prized. About the same time he also received another present from the Grand Signior, of a drawing of the Battle of the Nile and a portrait of himself. He was much gratified by this attention, and writes, "The present is certainly curious, and particularly in this point, that it assures me of the goodness of his heart; and a rare qualification for monarchs, that he does not forget services rendered to him. A handful of diamonds comes naturally from the hand of a great monarch, but this drawing, made probably for the occasion, could only come from an affectionate, amiable disposition."[1]

The Lords of the Admiralty commanded Lord Keith on the 30th of November to resume the command in the Mediterranean. Nelson's position, therefore, as acting Commander-in-chief terminated on the 6th of January, 1800, on which day he received the intelligence, and again placed himself under the orders of Lord Keith. He hoisted his flag on board the Foudroyant on the 14th and on the 16th sailed for Palermo. On the 20th he joined Lord Keith in the Leghorn Roads, and sailed with him on the 25th. He again arrived at Palermo with Lord Keith on the 3rd of February, after which they separated for Malta. At Messina, on the 13th, he wrote the following to Lady Hamilton, and sent it through Mr. Roche, who at the same time solicited Lady Hamilton's good offices to obtain a passport for his housekeeper from the Giunto of Naples.

"Feb. 13, 1800.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"I do not send you any news or opinions as this letter goes by post and may be opened, and as I wrote to you and Sir William yesterday, nothing particular has occurred. We are now off Messina with a fresh breeze and fair. Mr.

[1] Letter to J. S. Smith, Esq. Letter Book.

Roche has had the goodness to come on board. To say how I miss your house and company would be saying little; but in truth you and Sir William have so spoiled me that I am not happy anywhere else but with you, nor have I an idea that I ever can be. All my newspapers are purloined at Gibraltar, and I suspect a gentleman there has sent them to Lord Keith, for they are all stars. I see in Lord Grenville's note to Paris he concludes with saying, that the best mode he can recommend for France to have a solid peace is to replace its ancient princes on the throne.

"I am your truly faithful and affectionate,

"BRONTÉ NELSON.[1]

"You will make my kindest regards to Sir William and to all the house, also duty to the Queen."

Lady Hamilton's influence with the Queen brought upon her applications of all kinds from all classes of society. The Duchess of Sorrentino mentioned in the following letter from Lord Minto, was recommended by Captain Blackwood in the previous year.

"Vienna, January 25th, 1800.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"I must first beg your good offices to deliver the inclosed to the Queen. The generous pardon she has sent me, and the gracious manner in which she conveyed it, with her own hand, make my past offences appear more extraordinary, and future ones of the same sort impossible. My sincere and unfeigned attachment for so gracious a mistress can never cease; and there is nothing in the world that appears so desirable to me as an opportunity of serving her. How happy must the consciousness which you enjoy of having rendered her essential services make you? May I beg you to tell me whether I may, in general, write confidentially, and with

[1] There are not many of Nelson's letters thus signed. I believe that objections were made in England to the precedence given to the Ducal Sicilian title over that of the English Barony. Nelson's letter of introduction for Captain Hood to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, Nov. 9, 1799, was signed Bronté Nelson, and other letters about the same time to Sir John Acton, Mr. Fagan, the Grand Vizir, and Lord Keith.

entire freedom, either to you or her Majesty, by Neapolitan messengers. I am not sure whether I told you that I have found here the most perfect and the most charming picture of the Queen it is possible to imagine. She sat for it to Föyer, an excellent painter, in the year 1790, at Vienna. It is a charming thing merely as a work of art, but as a portrait, is quite invaluable, at least to me. I never saw so perfect and so fine a likeness. He has caught that moment of intelligent smile, of which I have seen you receive one, now and then, that made me envy you. It is a miniature of a large size. I found it in an unfinished state, and prevailed on him, although he had long left off miniature on account of his eyes, to finish it. I have not the least doubt that it is the best picture ever done for her. I certainly never saw any so good. It is nearly half-length, and has both hands in sight. I am afraid to ask you about Lord Nelson, fearing that this letter may find you in great affliction. If I understood Lord Nelson right, he seemed determined not to serve under any other than Lord St. Vincent. If he returns to England now, I take it for granted that Sir William will not accompany him, and that you will not leave the King and Queen until you have seen them restored to Naples and Caserta. I do not despair of partaking one day in that joyful sight; for I trust that before our return to England he may find leisure for another visit to Italy. I am sorry to say I am still a bachelor. I have been counting Lady Minto's steps almost every hour since the beginning of October. She was actually at Yarmouth the 1st of December, and was still there on the 17th; but I now hear by a messenger, come by the way of the Mediterranean, that she was about to return to London in despair, so that I must wait for spring. I hope you will have received my letter by the Duchess of Sorrentino; and I know you and our Queen sufficiently, to be sure that she and her infant will receive justice if it is due, and consolation if her claims should be invalid. I must once more recommend this pretty widow, and her orphan, to you most warmly. God bless you, my dear Lady Hamilton, and believe me ever most sincerely and truly, your affectionate and faithful,

"MINTO."

HON. CAPTAIN BLACKWOOD TO LORD NELSON.

"Penelope, Leghorn Roads, Jan. 4th, 1800.

"My Lord,

"My public letter, I trust, will sufficiently explain my taking upon me to deviate so materially from my orders, a step I was alone induced to take, from the idea that I should be the first to communicate intelligence, which I believed must be of consequence; add to which, as the wind was strong at N.E. when I sailed, I did not think that taking Palermo in my way, would make much difference as to the time of my arrival on my station. I must also confess to your Lordship, that I did not wish to fall in with Lord Keith, who would most probably have changed the good orders your Lordship gave me. Under these circumstances I hope to appear justified.

"The very kind attentions I received from your Lordship, as well as from Sir William and Lady Hamilton (an event the more flattering from the little knowledge you had of me), induces me to say, that if any arrangement should render your Lordship's return to England necessary, nothing could make me more happy than your Lordship's making use of the Penelope.

"On the day of my departure from hence, I was applied to, through the Consul, by Mr. Wyndham, to give a passage to the Duchess of Sorrentino, who was thus far on her way to Palermo, a request I was the more ready to comply with, from her having letters to Sir William and Lady Hamilton, as also from my knowledge of that lady in England. Fearing, however, to trespass too much on your Lordship's indulgence, by delaying to get on my station, I am obliged to put her on shore at this place, which I regret much, as her arriving soon at Palermo is of much consequence to her affairs.

"I shall not trouble your Lordship with any detail respecting the Duchess of Sorrentino's views in Sicily, all of which are sufficiently explained in her letters to Sir William and Lady Hamilton. I have, therefore, only to request my best compliments may be made to Sir William and Lady Hamilton; and with much respect and esteem, I have

the honour to be your Lordship's obliged and faithful servant,

"HENRY BLACKWOOD."[1]

[1] The Hon. Sir Henry Blackwood, Bart., K.C.B., G.C.H., was the sixth son of Sir John Blackwood, and the Baroness Dufferin and Clanboye, born December 28th, 1770, and entered the Naval service at the early age of eleven years, being in April, 1781, placed under the protection of Captain, afterwards Admiral Macbride, in the Artois. He was present at the action of Admiral Parker, at the Dogger Bank, and also at the capture of the Pylades and Orestes, two Dutch sloops of war. After various services, he was, in 1790, promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, and employed in the Proserpine frigate. Upon the commencement of hostilities with France, in 1793, he was appointed to the Active; but on the application of the Hon. Captain Pakenham, in July of the same year, removed to the Invincible, of 74 guns. Here, as First Lieutenant, he was in Lord Howe's celebrated action, in which, opposed to the Juste, the Invincible demolished her by the severity of her fire, so that she became an easy prey to the Queen Charlotte. For this action he was made a Commander, and served in Lord Howe's fleet in the Channel, in the Megæra fire-ship. In June of the same year, he was made a Post Captain, and commanded the Nonsuch, guarding the mouth of the Humber. In 1796, he was removed to the Brilliant, 28 guns, and went to the North Sea, in which station, commanded by Lord Duncan, he remained nearly two years, serving under Admiral Waldegrave, afterwards Lord Radstock. In July, 1798, he maintained an unequal combat with two French frigates of 44 guns each, La Vertu and La Régénérée, which lasted nearly six hours off the island of Teneriffe. Earl St. Vincent designated it as an action "in which Captain Blackwood had displayed great valour and judgment, and acquired great renown." In the ensuing year he was appointed to the Penelope, 36 guns, and served on the blockade of Havre de Grace and Cherbourg, when he quitted for the Mediterranean, and saw a great deal of active service under Lord Nelson, Lord Keith, Sir Sidney Smith, Sir Richard Bickerton, and other eminent commanders. When on the blockade of Malta, he was instrumental in the capture of Le Guillaume Tell. In 1802, Earl St. Vincent gave Captain Blackwood the command of the Euryalus, 36 guns; and he served on the Irish station under Lord Gardner and Admiral Drury, and then on the Boulogne blockade, under Lord Keith and Sir Thomas Louis, Bart. He afterwards traced the movements of the combined fleets of France and Spain, under Villeneuve and Gravina, and watched them into Cadiz, after their rencontre with Sir Robert Calder, off Cape Finisterre. He made a quick passage to England, gave information to the Government, by which they were induced to dispatch Lord Nelson, in 1805, to take the command of the fleet, assembled before that place, under Admiral Collingwood. Nelson gave Blackwood the command of the inshore squadron, five frigates and four sloops, to watch the enemy. He offered him a line-of-battle ship, but Blackwood preferred his Euryalus. Nelson kept up a constant communication of signals with him up to the 20th of October, and then made this telegraph signal to him: "I rely on you, that I do not miss the enemy." When Nelson took leave of him, as he departed from the Victory, where he remained five hours and a half, and did not quit until the enemy had commenced firing at Trafalgar, Nelson said to him, "God bless you, Blackwood,—I shall never see you more!"

On the 18th, off Cape Passaro in Sicily, he fell in with a French squadron under Rear-Admiral Perrée in Le Généreux, 74 guns, one of the vessels that had escaped at the Battle of the Nile. She was now captured without much fighting, together with a frigate. The Généreux was carrying troops from Toulon to the relief of Malta. The French Admiral died on the following day of wounds he had received from a broadside given by the Success.

After the battle, a severe gale came on, and Blackwood wrote some charming letters to his wife on the occasion, which may be seen in Blackwood's Magazine for July, 1833, in which there is a memoir of this distinguished officer, and whence the above particulars have been obtained. Lord Barham removed Captain Blackwood from the Euryalus into the Ajax, 80 guns, and he was placed in the Mediterranean under Lord Collingwood. This vessel was burnt, February 14th, 1807, from a fire which broke out in the bread-room, and had been caused by the intoxication of the mate and steward. Of this event he wrote his wife a most affecting account. Upon the destruction of his ship, he went as a volunteer in the Royal George, where he assisted in passing the squadron between the forts of Abydos and Sestos. The force possessed by Sir John Duckworth was unequal to the purpose required at this time against the Turks, before Constantinople. Upon Blackwood's return to England, Lord Mulgrave made him the offer of a Commissionership of the Navy Board, but he preferred a command, and had the Warspite, 74 guns, in which he sailed to the North Sea, and remained until 1809, when he joined the Channel Fleet, and afterwards Lord Collingwood, in the Mediterranean. In 1810, he was engaged in a skirmish with six French sail of the line, and several frigates, when the French Admiral thought it most prudent to avoid the continuance of the fight, and returned to an anchorage. Sir Charles Cotton had succeeded Lord Collingwood in this command, and he was now superseded by Lord Exmouth, with whom Blackwood remained until 1812, when his ship needing repair, he returned to England. He afterwards went to the blockade of the Scheldt, under Sir W. Young, and thence to the Channel Fleet, under Lord Keith, in which he was present at the blockades of Brest and Rochfort. At the close of 1813, he resigned the command of the Warspite, after a service in her of six years' duration. In 1814, His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence made him Captain of the Fleet, and he brought over the crowned heads from France to this country. On this occasion he was created a Baronet, and raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral. He had also the charge of conveying Louis XVIII. back to France, and was made Naval Aide-de-Camp to the Prince Regent, and afterwards Groom of the Chamber, to which situation he was reappointed upon the accession of William IV. In 1819, he was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Naval forces in the East Indies, and in assuming this command he was nearly wrecked off Madeira. In 1827, the Duke of Clarence, then Lord High Admiral, gave him the command at Chatham, which he held for three years, and was occupied in the Experimental Squadron fitted out to ascertain the relative advantages of round and square sterns. An attack of typhus fever, at Ballyliedy, the seat of his elder brother, the Lord Dufferin, proved fatal to this gallant officer on the 17th of December, 1832, in the 62nd year of his age.

The capture of Le Généreux is referred to in the following extract from Lord Nelson's Journal:—

"Tuesday, February 11th, at half past 1 o'clock went on board. Wind fresh at S.W., bore away for the Faro of Messina. At 5, was joined by the Louisa brig, from England. N.B. She was sent into Palermo, but I missed the opportunity of sending any letters, to my great mortification. Little wind all night.

"Wednesday morning, about eight leagues from Palermo. At 8, the wind came fresh from the eastward. The Admiral beat to windward till 10, when we bore away for Maritimo. At 1, the signal that the Phaeton was going into port. Sent my letters on board: two for Sir William (Hamilton), two for my Lady (Hamilton). At 3, the wind came strong from the westward; bore away for the Faro. In the night, chased a ship, and spoke her. She sailed from Messina the day before, bound for London.

"Thursday 13th. In the morning our signal to chase a ship of the line. Spoke her, the Alphonso, bound for Messina. At 10, passing the Faro, Mr. Roche came on board. Wrote a line to Lady Hamilton, but *no* news or opinions, as they might be opened out of curiosity. Commodore Campbell came on board for a moment, but it blowing very hard, he was glad to get on shore again. In the evening, L'Entreprenant cutter joined. Sent on board the Queen Charlotte; had the pleasure of receiving letters from Sir William and Lady Hamilton. N.B. The cutter sailed directly for Corfu—not very civil.

"Friday, Feb. 14th. Fine weather. At 9 o'clock went on board the Queen Charlotte. Lord Keith just got up. Went into the breakfast-room. N.B. Every thing very dirty, and the table-cloth not changed since we sailed. Got no intimations of Lord Keith's intentions about me. Came on board very unwell. Had all the officers and midshipmen of the ship, who were in the battle of this day, to dinner. Blew fresh all night. At 12 lay to—Joined, the Audacious.

"Saturday 15th. At half-past 7 was close off St. Paul's. Asked the Admiral, by signal, if I should lead into port. Answer,—No. At 9, the Lion joined; at 10, the Admiral made the signal, that one sail of the line, and five frigates,

enemies, bore S.S.E., which was either in La Valetta, or on the other side the island. Carried all sail possible the whole day and night. Wind very strong, and great rains. At dark, off the eastward of the island.

"Sunday morning, 16th. Nothing in sight. Very dirty weather. At noon saw three sail of the line; joined company—the Northumberland, Audacious, and El Corso. Very bad weather all night.

"Monday 17th. At day-light nothing in sight. At 10 o'clock, Northumberland made the signal for the Queen Charlotte, Lion, and Minorca, S. by W. Our distance at noon from Malta, ten leagues, directly to leeward, therefore nothing is off La Valetta to prevent the entry of any vessel. The Commander-in-chief knows best. Our poor troops are *tired and sea-sick.*

"*Tuesday 18th. At day-light heard some guns, N. by W. Bore away and made all haste; saw the Alexander and four sail of French ships. At 8, one of the French ships struck* to the Alexander. Made the Audacious signal to take possession of the prize, a large corvette or Venetian frigate. From 8 to noon in full chase of a French ship of the line, and three frigates, coming fast up. Pray God we may get alongside of them; the event I leave to Providence. I think if I can take one 74 by myself, I would retire, and give the staff to more able hands. 1 o'clock, can see the line of battle ship's upper ports; but we are not coming up with her so fast as we could wish. At 10 minutes past 4, P. M. the Success frigate fired a broadside in raking the French ship, and the Foudroyant fired two guns at her, on which she fired two broadsides and struck her colours—proved to be Le Généreux of 74 guns, Rear-Admiral Perrée with 600 troops on board for Malta. Thank God."

Of the dinner alluded to on the 14th of February, to celebrate the Battle off Cape St. Vincent, Lieutenant Parsons has given an account.[2] He was a Midshipman on board the

[1] The above constitutes almost the only portion of Diary, or Journal, amongst this collection of papers. It is written on a single sheet of gilt edge letter paper, which it nearly occupies. The pages are not numbered, so that it does not appear to have been extracted from any regular series of observations.

[2] Nelsonian Reminiscences, p. 241.

Barfleur on that memorable occasion, and Tom Allen, Lord Nelson's favourite servant, was sent to deliver the invitation.

"'You (or as he in his Norfolk dialect pronounced it, *yow*) are to dine with my Lord to-day.'

"'I cannot, Tom, for I have no clean shirt; and we have been so long cruising off Malta, that my messmates are in the same plight.'

"'But you must, for my Lord insists on meeting all those that were at the battle of St. Vincent at dinner this day.'

"'Make the best excuse you can for me, Tom, for I really cannot go.'

"Away waddled Tom, very much like a heavy laden ship before the wind, and the best excuse the simplicity of his mind suggested was the truth.

"'Muster so-and-so has no clean shirt, and he coon't dine with you to-day.'

"'What ship was he in, Tom?'

"'The Barfleur.'

"'Then tell him to appear in my cabin in the one he now has on, and he may send the first clean one that comes into his possession for me to look at.'

Nelson then discussed with his Captain the position of affairs, and afterwards proceeded to adorn himself with the hard-won honours which were to decorate his person on this gala day. The tune of the 'Roast Beef of Old England' now struck on the young midshipman's ear, and he, being the youngest, was singled out by Nelson to sit on his right, and he took wine with him during the dinner. He afterwards observed to him: 'You entered the service at a very early age, to have been in the action off Cape St. Vincent?'

"'Eleven years, my Lord.'

"'Much too young,' muttered his Lordship.

"At this moment, honest Tom Allen pushed in his bullet head with an eager gaze at his master, and after a little consideration, approached the Admiral, saying, 'You will be ill if you takes any more wine.'

"'You are perfectly right, Tom, and I thank you for the hint. Hardy, do the honours. And, gentlemen, excuse me for retiring, for my battered old hulk is very crazy,—indeed,

not sea-worthy.' Thus was Lord Nelson led from the table by his faithful servant, after drinking five glasses of wine."

The same officer has also given an account[1] of the chase of Le Généreux:—

"'Deck there! the stranger is evidently a man-of-war—she is a line-of-battle ship, my Lord, and going large on the starboard tack.'

"'Ah! an enemy, Mr. Staines. I pray God it may be Le Généreux. The signal for a general chase, Sir Ed'ard (the Nelsonian pronunciation of Edward, addressed to Sir Edward Berry), make the Foudroyant fly!'

"Thus spoke the heroic Nelson; and every exertion that emulation could inspire was used to crowd the canvass, the Northumberland taking the lead, with the flag-ship close on her quarter.

"'This will not do, Sir Ed'ard; it is certainly Le Généreux, and to my flag-ship she can alone surrender. Sir Ed'ard, we must and shall beat the Northumberland.'

"'I will do the utmost, my Lord; get the engine to work on the sails—hang butts of water to the stays—pipe the hammocks down, and each man place shot in them—slack the stays, knock up the wedges, and give the masts play—start off the water, Mr. James, and pump the ship. The Foudroyant is drawing a-head, and at last takes the lead in the chase. The Admiral is working his fin (the stump of his right arm), do not cross his hawse, I advise you.'

"The advice was good, for at that moment Nelson opened furiously on the quarter-master at the conn. 'I'll knock you off your perch, you rascal, if you are so inattentive. Sir Ed'ard, send your best quarter-master to the weather wheel.'

"'A strange sail a-head of the chase,' called the look out man.

"'Youngster to the mast head. What! going without your glass, and be d——d to you? Let me know what she is immediately.'

"'A sloop of war, or frigate, my Lord,' shouted the young signal midshipman.

"'Demand her number.'

[1] Nelsonian Reminiscences, p. 12.

"'The Success, my Lord.'

"'Captain Peard; signal to cut off the flying enemy—great odds, though—thirty-two small guns to eighty large ones.'

"'The Success has hove to, athwart hawse of the Généreux, and is firing her larboard broadside. The Frenchman has hoisted his tri-colour with a Rear-Admiral's flag.'

"'Bravo! *Success at her again!*'

"'She has wore round, my Lord, and firing her starboard broadside. It has winged her, my Lord—her flying kites are flying away altogether. The enemy is close on the Success, who must receive her tremendous broadside.' The Généreux opens her fire on her little enemy, and every person stands aghast, afraid of the consequences. 'The smoke clears away, and there is the Success, crippled, it is true, but bull-dog like, bearing up after the enemy.'

"'The signal for the Success to discontinue the action, and come under my stern,' said Lord Nelson; 'she has done well for her size. Try a shot from the lower deck at her, Sir Ed'ard.'

"'It goes over her.'

"'Beat to quarters, and fire coolly and deliberately at her masts and yards.'

"Le Généreux at this moment opened her fire on the Foudroyant, and a shot passed through the mizen-stay-sail, when Lord Nelson, patting one of the youngsters on the head, asked him jocularly how he relished the music; and observing something like alarm depicted on his countenance, consoled him with the information, that Charles XII. ran away from the first shot he heard, though afterwards he was called 'The Great,' and deservedly, from his bravery. 'I therefore,' said Lord Nelson, 'hope much from you in future.' The Northumberland now opened her fire, and the tri-coloured ensign came down amid the thunder of the English cannon. A signal to discontinue firing was accordingly made, and Sir Edward Berry ordered to board the prize. Very shortly, Lieutenant Parsons says, he returned with Rear-Admiral Perrée's sword, who, he stated, was then dying on his quarter-deck, with the loss of both legs, shot off by the raking broadsides of the little Success. This unfortunate Frenchman was under the imputation of having broken his parole, and was

considered lucky in having redeemed his honour by dying in battle."[1]

The Admiral's flag was sent as a present from Nelson to the young Prince Leopold.

On the 20th Nelson wrote off La Valetta:[2]—

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"Had you seen the Peer receive me, I know not what you would have done; but I can guess. But never mind. I told him that I had made a vow, if I took the Généreux by myself, it was my intention to strike my flag, to which he made no answer.

"If I am well enough, I intend to write a letter to Prince Leopold,[3] and to send him the French Admiral's flag, which I hope you will approve of, as it was taken on the coast of his father's kingdom, and by as faithful a subject as any in his dominions.

"I have had no communication with the shore; therefore have seen neither Ball, Troubridge, nor Graham, nor with the Lion; when I have, I shall not forget all your messages, and little Jack. I only want to know your wishes, that I may, at least, appear grateful, by attending to them. My head aches dreadfully, and I have none here to give me a moment's comfort. I send the packet to General Acton, as I think it may go quicker, and he will be flattered by pre-

[1] Nelsonian Reminiscences, p. 15.

[2] Collection of Letters, Vol. i. p. 15.

[3] The Prince Leopold was educating for the Navy. The following letter, without date, from the Queen of Naples to Lord Nelson is interesting: "This letter will be presented to you by a boy who is very dear to me; I envy him the pleasure he will have of seeing you. I am sorry that my illness prevents my personally expressing to you all the esteem and gratitude I feel for you. This child wishes to serve in the Navy, I hope he will follow in your footsteps, and that one day he may acquire a portion of your glory. My dear Leopold has expressed his regret in a manner suiting his age, with tears, that he has not yet known so brave a man as yourself, and to satisfy his ardent desire, I have sent him here, and he will tell you how much I desire to be well, that I might myself assure you how grateful I feel, that it is engraven on my heart, and will be ever preserved for so illustrious a man.

"Believe that my gratitude and esteem for you, my valorous and glorious General, will accompany me to the grave.

"CHARLOTTE."

senting the flag and letter to the Prince. Malta, I think, will fall very soon, if those other corvettes do not get in.

"Your truly faithful and affectionate,

"BRONTÉ NELSON."

Captain John Nicholson Inglefield[1] addressed the following congratulatory letter to Lord Nelson upon the taking of Le Généreux:—

"Gibraltar, April 4th, 1800.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"I trust you will believe how much I have been gratified and rejoiced at your good fortune in taking the Généreux, &c. It is a common observation, that *lucky officers* should always have a preference on command. As to myself, I never could understand what good luck is; but I know very well what are the usual consequences of activity, vigilance, decision, and intrepidity, and that the officer who courts fortune with these heroic qualities, is seldom disappointed; and of course, when a Government has experienced the most solid advantages from the successes of such an officer, it is wise to employ him in preference to all other considerations or motives for employing any officer who has been what they call *unlucky*.

[1] This officer was made Lieutenant in 1768, and Post Captain in 1780, being soon after appointed to the Barfleur, bearing the flag of Sir Samuel, afterwards Lord Hood. He went to the West Indies, and was in the action with the Count de Grasse. He then accompanied Sir Samuel to America, returned to Barbadoes, and was engaged in active and hazardous service. He was in the Centaur at the battle of the 12th April, 1782, under Lord Rodney, and came home with the prizes under the command of Rear-Admiral Graves, meeting with a most fearful storm, in which he almost miraculously escaped death. (See an interesting account of this dreadful scene in Marshall's Naval Biography, Vol. ii. p. 65, and Inglefield's Narrative of the Loss of the Centaur, Lond. 1783, 8vo.) Being honourably acquitted for the loss of his vessel, he was appointed to the Scipio, a guardship in the Medway, and afterwards on the coast of Africa. At the reduction of Corsica, he commanded L'Aigle frigate, 36 guns, and assisted in drawing up the articles of Capitulation of Bastia. He succeeded Sir Hyde Parker as Captain of the Mediterranean fleet, under the character of Adjutant-General of the Fleet, in 1794, and returned to England with Lord Hood in the Victory. He was made Resident Commissioner of the Navy at Corsica, at Malta, at Gibraltar, and at Halifax, and was placed on the list of retired Post Captains in 1799. He died at the age of 80, Jan. 30th, 1818.

"This I hope will be delivered to your Lordship by Mr. Susini, a Corsican officer upon half pay, who is desirous of paying his respects to your Lordship, being a near relation to the late Mr. Peraldi. I beg your Lordship will accept of my good wishes for your long life and perfect health, and believe me to be, with the sincerest respect and esteem,

"My Lord Duke,

"Your Lordship's obedient and faithful humble servant,

"J. N. INGLEFIELD."

On the 25th of February Lord Nelson wrote to Lady Hamilton:—

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"Your letters by Girgenti are not yet come here. The weather has been bad. Send them in charge to the Consul, I fancy under cover to our friend Ball, and they will be safe. Macaulay[1] was to go over that way to Palermo, and it is the only way I can send to you; for by Lord Keith's order to me, Palermo is no longer to be the rendezvous of our ships. You will, I am sure, thank Miss Knight kindly for her high and unmerited compliment—it is a little of a prophecy; but I wish not to trust Dame Fortune too long: she is a fickle dame, and I am no courtier. I long to give it all up. Nineteen sail of the line, and four Admirals, is enough for one man; at the taking of sixteen I have borne my flag. My health has been so bad, that yesterday I wrote a letter to Lord Keith for two or three months leave of absence, to go to Palermo, and rest quiet, but I found if I went at this moment perhaps we might lose Malta, therefore for a very short time I have given way, as I have often done to the public service; but I really want rest and a great deal of your kind care.

"Your obliged, affectionate, and sincere friend,

"BRONTÉ NELSON."

Lord Keith now entrusted the command of the squadron blockading La Valetta to Lord Nelson, and directed him to

[1] Treasurer of Malta.

adopt and prosecute the necessary measures for contributing to the complete reduction of Malta; but he was exhausted—his health would not permit of his remaining there, and he entreated Lord Keith to give the command to Captain Sir Thomas Troubridge, and allow him to return to Palermo. He accordingly returned to Palermo on the 16th of March.

We must now revert to the blockade of La Valetta, and the attempt to drive the French force from Malta. In the letters of Nelson previously referred to, it has been seen that the British, Russian, and Neapolitan troops were conjointly engaged to effect the reduction of Malta. The following letter from Lord Grenville, a copy of which is among the Nelson Correspondence now printed, will shew the nature of the engagement having reference to the restoration of the Order of St. John :—

"Downing Street, May 9th, 1799.

"My Lords,

"In consequence of an arrangement settled between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, that in the event of the reduction of Malta by his Majesty's fleet, acting singly, or in conjunction with that of his allies, the island should be occupied until the peace, by a garrison composed of British, Russian, and Neapolitan troops, and that the island should at the peace, or at such earlier period as may be arranged by the mutual consent of the allies, be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; I have received the King's commands to signify to your Lordship his Majesty's pleasure, that you direct the officer commanding his Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, in the event of the surrender or reduction of the island of Malta, to concert with the Commanders of the forces of the Emperor of Russia, and of the King of Naples, the necessary measures for garrisoning it in the manner before stated.

"The King has in the present moment no disposable force in the Mediterranean to apply to this specific purpose. But his Majesty having taken steps for raising two Albanian regiments, it is probable that they will be employed in conjunction with such troops as the Emperor of Russia and the King of Naples may appropriate to the object of garrisoning

Malta, or that they may replace a part of the present garrisons of Minorca or Gibraltar, which might then be destined to that service. But as in pursuance of the arrangement mentioned in the preceding part of this letter, it is expedient that for the purpose of shewing to all Europe the concert which prevails, and the principles which have been firmly agreed upon between the sovereigns concerned, a part of the garrison of Malta should consist of troops in the King's pay, it is his Majesty's pleasure that until the arrival of the Albanian regiments, or of any other force destined for this particular service, the Commander of his Majesty's fleet, at the period of the surrender of Malta, should land such a small detachment of seamen, or marines under proper officers, as can be conveniently spared from his Majesty's ships upon that station, to form, a part, however small, of the garrison of Malta, in conjunction with the troops of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Naples.

"I am,
"&c. &c. &c.
"GRENVILLE.

"To the Lord's Commissioners
of the Admiralty,
&c. &c. &c."

The former Knights of Malta had rendered themselves very unpopular with the Maltese, yet attempts at a counter-revolution were evidently contemplated by them, as the subjoined letter addressed by Lieutenant Vivion to Captain Alexander John Ball will shew:—

"St. Antoine, 8th July, 1799.

"Dear Sir,

"On the 25th of June I did myself the honour of writing to Admiral Lord Nelson and to yourself, since which, the only particular circumstance that has occurred, I deem of sufficient importance to merit a detail:—

"For several days after the occurrences which I mentioned in the above letters, the minds of the inhabitants were worked up to a degree of alarm that foreboded something very unpleasant, and a number of reports were in circulation of the probability of a speedy counter-revolution, which it was hinted

would most likely take place on the 29th, the day of the celebration of the feast of St. Paul, when all the Chiefs would be assembled at Citta Vielle assisting at the religious ceremonies. On the evening of the 28th the Captain of the Port of St. Paul's came up to report to me the arrival of three Knights of Malta, two of them Grand Croix, in a sparonare. They were from Trieste, but last from Messina. He had allowed them to land, but immediately lodged them in the Tower at St. Paul's, until he received orders how to proceed. One of them (the Bailly Nevens) was almost the only Knight who had been popular with the Maltese: he had commanded the regiment of Chasseurs in the country, most of whom are now acting as soldiers with us. From the existing circumstances, and a knowledge of the late Grand Master having a strong party in the island, who were ready to act in any way that could tend to restore him to his former government, I did not hesitate one moment in determining to send them out of the island without any loss of time, and in doing which I had not a doubt but I should meet your wishes: I therefore immediately sent the officer to St. Paul's again with orders to take any papers the Knights might have brought, and to send an armed sparonare to see them some leagues from the island. In the course of a very few hours, I found that the arrival of these persons had already caused a general movement and confusion in the island, and the Captain of the Port, the next morning, reported that during the few moments they were between the boat and the tower, they had contrived to distribute upwards of fifty crowns among the crowd who were assembled there, telling them at the same time, 'that they had brought plenty of money, and that they would be followed in a few days by some vessels laden with corn to relieve their distresses.' Among their baggage was found five or six thousand Maltese crowns; these we did not touch. Among their papers was the History of the Revolution of Malta in 1798, in French, published at Trieste. I felt myself in a very awkward situation, being obliged to act in so decisive a manner; but have not a doubt by so doing, but that I saved the island from becoming the scene of much greater confusion than already existed, and perhaps from the effusion of much blood.

"The above account I consider it my duty to make known to you without loss of time.

"I remain with great esteem,

"Dear Sir,

"sincerely your obedient servant,

"J. VIVION.

"Alexander John Ball, Esq.
Commanding the British squadron,
off Malta."

On the 9th of July, Lord Grenville wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty as follows:—

"Downing Street, 9th July, 1799.

"My Lords,

"In consequence of a communication which his Majesty has received from Malta, and of others which have been transmitted to me by your Lordships, I have received the King's commands to apprize you, that if the island of Malta shall surrender to any Naval force employed by his Majesty, and acting either separately or in conjunction with those of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Naples, it is the intention of his Majesty and his Allies, that the island should be restored to the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, who acknowledge the Emperor of Russia as Grand Master; and that the government of the said Order shall also be restored, subject only to such regulations respecting its government and constitution as may be established therein, in consequence of any concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia and of the King of Naples. It is therefore his Majesty's pleasure that you should give instructions conformably to this intention, to such of his Majesty's officers as may be employed in that quarter, and that you should direct them to regulate their language and conduct accordingly.

"I am, &c. &c. &c.,

"GRENVILLE.

"To the Lords Commissioners
of the Admiralty, &c. &c."

And on the 11th, the Lords Commissioners transmitted the following to Earl St. Vincent:—

"By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c.

"The Right Honourable Lord Grenville, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, having acquainted us by his letter of yesterday's date, that in the event of the surrender of the island of Malta to any Naval or Military forces employed by his Majesty, and acting either separately or in conjunction with those of the Emperor of Russia and of the King of Naples, it is the intention of his Majesty and his Allies that the said island shall be restored to the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, who acknowledge the Emperor of Russia for their Grand Master; and that the government of the said Order shall also be restored, subject only to such regulations respecting its government and constitution as may be established therein, in consequence of any concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia and the King of Naples, and his Lordship, having at the same time signified his Majesty's pleasure that we should give Instructions, conformably to his said intention, to such of his Majesty's officers as may be employed in that quarter, and to direct them to regulate their language and conduct accordingly—We do, in pursuance thereof, hereby require and direct your Lordship, in the event of the surrender of the island of Malta, as aforesaid, to give orders to the several officers serving on board his Majesty's fleet under your command, conformably to his Majesty's pleasure, signified as above mentioned.

"Given under our hands the 11th July, 1799.

"J. GAMBIER.
"W. YOUNG.
"R. MAN.

"The Earl of St. Vincent, K.B.
Admiral of the White, or the
Commanding officer for the
time being of his Majesty's ships and vessels,
Mediterranean.

"By command of their Lordships,

"EVAN NEPEAN."

Mr. Dundas wrote also to General Fox:—

"Downing Street, 17th September, 1799.

"Sir,

"As there can exist very little doubt, under the present circumstances, that the blockade of the island of Malta, and the operations carrying on against the French garrison there, will, in a short time, terminate in the surrender of that fortress, it becomes necessary that I should inform you, that the said island is from that period to receive a garrison, to consist (according to an agreement entered into between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia) of British, Russian, and Neapolitan troops.

"The further arrangements and intentions of his Majesty and his Allies with respect to that island, will be explained to you by the copies herewith inclosed, of two letters from Lord Grenville to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. At the time when the first of these letters was written, the state of affairs in the Mediterranean would not have admitted of our sending any British land forces there, and owing to some difficulties that have occurred, the levy of the Albanian regiments therein mentioned, has not yet taken place. The reinforcements which have lately been sent from this country and Portugal to the Mediterranean, and the restoration of the King of Naples to his dominions on the continent, will, however, it is conceived, enable you immediately on the expulsion of the French from Malta, to send one or both, (if they can be spared) of the British regiments in garrison at Messina, to that island, for the purposes mentioned in Lord Grenville's letter above mentioned; but in case the situation of the garrison of Minorca, from which these regiments have been detached, will admit of only one being sent, you are, in that case, to send the strongest and most fit for service of these two corps. The appointment of a proper officer to command this detachment is left to your choice; but you will take care to select one in whose judgment and discretion you can confide, and to recommend to him to maintain and cultivate a good understanding with the respective Commanding officers of the Russian and Neapolitan troops, which may be stationed at Malta, to co-operate with him in the defence of that island,

furnishing him at the same time with copies of Lord Grenville's letters, in order that he may be perfectly apprized of the object for which he is sent to that island, and of the intentions of his Majesty and his Allies to restore it to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which the Emperor of Russia is now the Grand Master.

"I am, Sir,
"&c. &c. &c.
"HENRY DUNDAS.

"Lieut.-General The Hon.
Henry Fox, &c. &c."

Captain Ball, who had joined Lord Nelson off Maritimo, returned to Malta on the 8th, and on the 17th and 18th, wrote to the Admiral as follows:—

"Alexander, off Malta, 17th July, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship of my arrival here the 8th inst. with the ships under my command. Captain Maling of La Bonne Citoyenne, informed me, that there had not been any particular occurrence since he last wrote to your Lordship.

"I inclose a letter from Lieutenant Vivion, whose conduct, during my absence, merits my warmest commendation. The late Grand Master has a strong party here, to counteract the views of the Emperor of Russia; he is protected by the Emperor of Germany, who is extremely jealous of Paul getting himself elected Grand Master, to accelerate his plan of possessing the sovereignty of Malta, and I have not a doubt but the three Knights of Malta, mentioned by Lieutenant Vivion, were sent here expressly to effect a counter-revolution. I intercepted some letters last March, from the late Grand Master, exciting his agents here to strengthen his party by every possible means, and to assure them of the protection of the Emperor of Germany. I immediately arrested the principal agent, and sent him to the island of Comino, after extorting a list of the persons concerned, some of whom are the best families on the island, and who know that I am acquainted with their attachment, and watch narrowly their conduct; they, therefore, keep very quiet, and I believe, many are now warm partisans of the English.

"The Maltese, at present, are very obedient to the laws. During my absence, a large body of men assembled in a riotous manner, and insisted on the repeal of a law which the Congress had passed; their appearance was so formidable, that Lieutenant Vivion thought it prudent to concede. Since my arrival, the rebellious leaders have been arrested, and sent to Barbary, to the great joy of the peaceable inhabitants, and I trust it will prevent any further opposition to the laws of the island. The French have a few friends in the country, who are exciting the people to insurrection, but I am convinced they will not succeed so long as we are enabled to pay the Maltese armed peasants.

"The French garrison are lingering out in the hope of a succour, but when they hear of his Sicilian Majesty being restored to his dominions, and their fleet blockaded, I am of opinion, the French soldiers will oblige General Vaubois to capitulate. I send this by the Benjamin, as her provisions are getting short.

"I have the honour to be,
"My Lord, with the greatest respect,
"Your most obliged and very obedient servant,
"ALEX. JNO. BALL.

"The Right Hon. Horatio Lord Nelson, K.B.
Rear-Admiral of the Red."

"Alexander, off Malta, 18th July, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that a deserter is this moment come out of La Valetta, who corroborates the distressed state of the French garrison, and in addition, he says, that there is very little water left on the Cotonaro side, and that they get their supply from La Valetta. General Vaubois has given order, to clear all the gardens of vegetables, to prevent any water being used there. He likewise says the French soldiers will oblige General Vaubois to capitulate upon the appearance of an additional force.

"I have the honour to be,
"My Lord, with the greatest respect,
"Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
"ALEX. JNO. BALL.

"The Right Honourable,
Horatio Lord Nelson, K.B."

On the 12th of August Nelson directed the Queen of Portugal and the Saint Sebastian to strengthen Captain Ball's force, and on the 14th, the Foudroyant also sailed for Malta, in hopes of bringing the long-continued business to a conclusion. He says: "You may send in an officer to talk to Vaubois; but I would not have you regularly summons him. The garrison may be sent to France, having *their arms, and every colour of the place, and regimentals,* without being prisoners of war. But this is ONLY to be granted if it will save fourteen days' labour; for the garrison never can be succoured."[1] On the 16th, however, he wrote to Captain Hardy, directing him "to embark the marines of the Foudroyant, should they be landed, and to proceed to Cagliari in Sardinia, to embark his Sardinian Majesty, and such other of the Royal family, ministers, &c. as his Majesty may think proper to take with him, and take them to Leghorn and land them there, except you hear of the capture of Genoa by the Allied armies. In that case, should his Majesty wish to be landed at Genoa, you will proceed with him to that port."[1]

So varied was the duty on this station at this time, that not a ship could be allowed to remain idle. Nelson was obliged in August to send six sail of the line to Gibraltar, and to keep four or five at Mahon, and he therefore sent the Marquis of Niza to co-operate with Captain Ball. Ball had been already named Chief of the island of Malta, by his Sicilian Majesty (the sovereign of the island), at the request of Nelson, and by the unanimous desire of the Maltese people, and Nelson had given him secret orders and instructions for a cordial co-operation with the Russians, should they arrive as was expected. The Lords of the Admiralty had communicated to Lord Nelson that the Government was favourable to the re-establishment of the Order of St. John, and the better sort of people at Malta knew that the Emperor of Russia was the Grand Master of the Order. The Emperor was indeed very ambitious of this honour. But the French still maintained possession of Malta, and they could not be driven out without troops. Nelson repeatedly made application to obtain them without success. He was fearful it would be lost to us by the delay.

[1] Letter Book. [2] Order Book.

The King of Naples sent 4000 ounces from his own funds, for the relief of the islanders, bearing arms in the cause.

Captain Ball made repeated applications on the part of the Maltese. The following letters were addressed to Lady Hamilton:—

"Malta, 9th Oct. 1799.

"My dear Madam,

"Although I could not be personally with you on the birth-day of his Grace de Bronté, my heart participated in all your joys. I frequently reflected on the delight which you and Sir William feel whenever you can give further proofs of your esteem and friendship for his Grace.

"I have just received his letter, acquainting me with his intention of collecting his squadron, and steering to interrupt the enemy. I sincerely hope the cruise will re-establish his health, which the bad air of Palermo did not agree with. I suppose you will soon return to Naples. There cannot now be any danger from Jacobinism. Thank God! it is no longer the rage, and that the Jacobins themselves begin to be ashamed of it.

"Our scene at Malta will be very active. I hope soon we shall succeed in compelling the French to surrender. I write to Sir William to request he will once more stand forth the benevolent friend of the Maltese, and if your Ladyship will have the goodness to second his views and prevail on the Queen to assist us, you will save thousands from misery and death.

"I beg you to accept of my sincere good wishes, and that you will believe me with infinite respect and esteem, my dear Madam,

"Your Ladyship's most obliged,

"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL."

"Malta, 23rd Oct. 1799.

"My dear Madam,

"I had the pleasure of writing to you by the Transfer. As I have experienced your goodness on a variety of occasions, and know the pleasure you have in alleviating the misfortunes of others, I most earnestly solicit your influence with

her Sicilian Majesty to assist the Maltese. Sir William will shew you my letter on the subject. If your Ladyship knew half their sufferings I am sure you would be their warm advocate. I have more uneasiness and anxiety on their account than I can describe, however, I hope yet all will end well, and that we shall meet next year in dear Old England. I hope you will soon get into your comfortable and hospitable mansion at Naples, where Sir William can have the enjoyments he has been accustomed to. I suppose by this time his Grace of Bronté has joined you. I wish he could be prevailed on to write less, because I am very apprehensive he impairs his health by leaning so much. Pray inform me of his state of health. I trust that Sir Thomas Troubridge will now forget what he considered his misfortune in the Battle of the Nile, and which preyed much upon his mind. I suppose the Palermo fêtes are now over; but when you get to Naples you will have a fresh round to welcome your return, before which I hope you will re-establish your health to enable you to go through such hard service.

"I have the honour to be,

"&c. &c. &c.

"A. J. BALL."

The following is from the Queen of Naples to Lady Hamilton, apparently at this time:—

"My dear Lady,

"The contents of your letter much affected me; believe in my attachment to you, assure the Chevalier and Lord Nelson of my sincere and real feelings for them and the good cause. Gallo is gone to Naples to treat of the affair of the subsidies, I feel all the difficulty of it, but it is indispensable to us as the efforts we make exceed our power. I have given the letter of the good people of Gozo to the King. He will do all that is possible to be done for them. I am going to return in a few days. I expect to stay a night at Caserta, and to go the day after to the city for three days, where I hope to see you to assure you that I am for life your very attached and grateful friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

Nelson made a report to the Emperor of Russia, as Grand Master of the Order, of the proceedings that had been taken, to force the French to surrender:—

"Palermo, October 31st, 1799.[1]

"Sire,

"As Grand Master of the Order of Malta, I presume to detail to your Majesty what has been done to prevent the French from re-possessing themselves of the island, blockading them closely in La Valetta, and what means are now pursuing to force them to surrender.

"On the 2nd of September, 1798, the inhabitants of Malta rose against the French robbers, who having taken all the money in the island, levied heavy contributions, and Vaubois, as a last act of villany, said, 'As baptism was of no use, he had sent for all the church plate.'

"On the 9th I received a letter from the Deputies of the island, praying assistance to drive the French from La Valetta. I immediately directed the Marquis de Niza, with four sail of the line, to support the islanders. At this time the crippled ships from Egypt were passing near it, and 2000 stand of arms, complete with all the musket-ball cartridges, were landed from them, and 200 barrels of powder.

"On the 24th of October I relieved the Marquis from that station, and having taken the island of Gozo, a measure absolutely necessary in order to form the complete blockade of La Valetta, the garrison of which at this time was composed of 7000 French, including the seamen, and some few Maltese. The inhabitants of the town about 30,000. The Maltese in arms (volunteers) never exceeded 3000. I entrusted the blockade to Captain Alexander John Ball, of the Alexander, of 74 guns, an officer not only of the highest merit, but of the most conciliating manners; from that period to this time it has fallen to my lot to arrange matters for the feeding 60,000

[1] This letter has been printed with slight verbal alterations by Sir N. Harris Nicolas in the fourth volume of "Dispatches and Letters," p. 78; but the concluding portion is altogether omitted; and it appears from the word [*imperfect*], placed by Sir H. Nicolas, never to have been entered into Lord Nelson's Letter Book.

people (the population of Malta and Gozo), and the arming of the peasantry, and what is the most difficult task of all, that of keeping up harmony between the Deputies of the island. Hunger, fatigue, and corruption, appeared several times in the island, and amongst the Deputies. The situation of Italy, and in particular the kingdom of Naples, oftentimes reduced me to the greatest difficulties, where to find food.

"Their Sicilian Majesties, at different times, have given more, I believe, than £40,000. in money and corn. The blockade has, in the expense of keeping the ships destined alone for this service, cost full £180,000. sterling.

"It has pleased God hitherto, to bless our endeavours to prevent supplies getting to the French, except one frigate, and two small vessels with a small portion of salt provisions.

"Your Majesty will have the goodness to observe, that until it was known that you were elected Grand Master, and that the Order was to be restored in Malta, I never allowed an idea to go abroad that Great Britain had any wish to keep it. I therefore directed his Sicilian Majesty's flag to be hoisted; as I am told, had the Order not been restored, that he is the legitimate Sovereign of the island. Never less than 500 men have been landed from the squadron, which, although with the volunteers, not sufficient to commence a siege, have yet kept post and batteries not more than 400 yards from the works. The quarrels of the nobles, and the misconduct of the chiefs, rendered it absolutely necessary that some proper person should be placed at the head of the island. His Sicilian Majesty, therefore, at the united request of the whole island, named Captain Ball as their chief director, and he will hold it until your Majesty, as Grand Master, appoints a person to the office.

"Now the French are nearly expelled from Italy by the valour and skill of your generals and army, all my thoughts are turned towards placing the Grand Master, and the Order of Malta, in security in La Valetta; for which purpose I have just been at Minorca, and arranged with the English General a force of 2500 British troops, cannons, bombs, &c. for the siege. I have written to your Majesty's Admiral, and his Sicilian Majesty joins cordially in the good work of endea-

vouring to drive the French from Malta. The laborious task of keeping the Maltese quiet in Malta, through difficulties which your Majesty will perfectly understand, has been principally brought about by the goodness of her Majesty, the Queen of Naples, who at one moment of distress sent £7000., belonging absolutely to herself and children, by the exertion of Lady Hamilton, the wife of Sir William Hamilton, my gracious Sovereign's Minister to the court of the Two Sicilies, whom your Majesty knows personally, and by the bravery and conciliating manners of Captain Ball. If your Majesty honours these two persons with the decoration of the Order, I can answer, none ever more deserved the Cross, and it will be grateful to the feelings of your Majesty's most faithful and devoted servant,

"BRONTÉ NELSON."

It was in the month of October that Nelson succeeded in arranging with the English General for a force of 2500 British troops, &c.; and he also invited the co-operation of the Russian Admiral, Ouschakoff, to whom he wrote thus:— "Let us go together to Malta. Let us unite all our means to place the Grand Master in La Valetta. Russia, England, and Naples, are pledged to do it; let it be our business to redeem that pledge; and ever believe me, with all the openness of heart, your Excellency's most faithful brother in arms,

"BRONTÉ NELSON."[1]

It was necessary also to urge the Marquis of Niza to remain with the squadron, the Court being solicitous for its return. On the 17th of November, Nelson learnt that 3000 Russians would sail for Malta on that day, and that Chevalier Italinsky, Minister of War for the Russian army and navy in Italy, would be at Malta to issue a proclamation at the proper time. The relief requisite for the Maltese was of such magnitude, that the Ministers of England, Russia, and Naples, agreed, that for the future each of the three powers should find a sum of money for this purpose; and on the 29th of November, his Sicilian Majesty sent 8000 ounces as his contribution. Nelson's anxieties were so great, that to ob-

[1] Letter Book.

viate the difficulties arising from want of resources, he offered to pledge his estate of Bronté for 12,000 ounces, and even to dispose of the Diamond Box, presented to him by the Emperor of Russia, for the battle of the Nile. The Marquis de Niza left the blockade of La Valetta, and on the 18th of December Nelson wrote to him a very handsome letter in acknowledgment of his services. The Russian Admiral had not yet arrived, although he was to have sailed from Naples Bay on the 17th of November. The year, however, expired, the Russians had not appeared, and on the 14th of January, 1800, Nelson received intelligence that the Russian troops were ordered to Corfu, and that the Admiral could not therefore go to Malta. The King of Sicily, however, promised 2600 men. The state of wretchedness to which the Maltese were reduced was most dreadful. Captain Sir Thomas Troubridge says, "They were dying off fast for want." The picture drawn by this distinguished officer of their destitution is most deplorable.

When Lord Nelson resigned the command of the Mediterranean to Lord Keith, he gave in his General Report the following distressing statement of the business at Malta: "To get to Malta—which has kept for 16 months every ship I could lay my hands on fully employed, and has, in truth, almost broke my spirits for ever—I have been begging of his Sicilian Majesty small supplies of money and corn to keep the Maltese in arms, and barely to keep from starving the poor inhabitants. Sicily has this year a very bad crop, and the exportation of corn is prohibited. Both Graham and Troubridge are in desperation at the prospect of a famine. Vessels are here loading with corn for Malta; but I can neither get the Neapolitan men-of-war or merchant vessels to move."[1]

Lord Nelson's exertions, we have seen, had been uniformly directed to promote Captain Ball's interests at Malta. He had promoted his election as Chief of the loyal Maltese, and had solicited for him the honour of a Knighthood of the Order of St. John. To the letter of the 31st of October, making this request to the Emperor on behalf of Captain Ball and Lady Hamilton, he, on the 21st of December, received

[1] Letter Book.

the following reply from the Emperor, written entirely in his own autograph:—

THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA TO LORD NELSON.

"Monsieur L'Amiral Duc d'Abronté, Lord Nelson. J'ai reçu votre Lettre du 31 Octobre. Je désire beaucoup que l'Expédition que vous allez entreprendre contre Malthe réuscisse. Dans ce cas Le Général Major Prince de Wolconsky avec les trois Battaillons de Grenadiers[1] sous ses ordres y restera en garnisson en qualité de Commandant de Malthe que sera gardi jusqu'au l'arrangement définitif, par les troupes Russes, Anglaises, et Napolitaines.

"C'est avec plaisir que j'accorde a votre démande La Croix de Commandeur au Capitaine Ball, et celle de Chevalier à Lady Hamilton que vous leur rémittrez accompagnés du Lettres de ma part. La prise de Malthe ajouterais encore un Feston à la Couronne de Lauriers du Vainqueur d'Aboukir sur cela je prie Dieu Monsieur Le Duc d'Abronté, Lord Nelson qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde.

"Du 21 Decembre, 1799, St. Petersbourg."

This letter was accompanied by one also from the Emperor, addressed to Lady Hamilton:—

"MILADY HAMILTON!

"Ayant appris avec une satisfaction particulière la part active que vous avez prise au maintien de la tranquillité et du bon ordre parmi les habitans de Malthe. Nous avons bien voulu vous donner une preuve de notre bienveillance en vous décorant de la petite Croix de dévotion de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem, que vous trouverez ci-jointe. Sur ce nous prions Dieu Milady Hamilton, qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde.

"PAUL.

"St. Petersbourg, du 21 Decembre, 1799."

[1] These troops to assist in the recovery of Malta never arrived. Their exertions were directed to another purpose at Corfu.

Nelson acknowledged these communications by the following :—

"Foudroyant, Malta, Feb. 26th, 1800.

"Sire,

"The gracious manner in which your Imperial Majesty has complied with my request, has filled me with the greatest gratitude, and I shall only again presume to say that the Cross of Malta has never yet been worn by two persons who have merited and will adorn it more than Lady Hamilton and Captain Ball. They are equally sensible with me of your Majesty's goodness.

"In the fulness of a grateful heart may I presume to lay at your feet the sword of the French Admiral Perrée, who I had the good fortune to capture in the Généreux, 74 guns, together with a large store ship, on the 18th instant, having on board 2000 troops, with provisions and ammunition for the relief of La Valetta. This capture will doubtless much facilitate the fall of the place, and enable me to see the flag of the Order flying in La Valetta, which, that it may soon do, is the fervent prayer, and shall be the utmost exertion of,

"Your Imperial Majesty's

"Grateful servant,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

On the back of the copy of this letter Lady Hamilton has written :—"Lord Whitworth, our then minister at St. Petersburgh, had the Emperor's orders to write home that I might be permitted to wear the Order. I not only received the Deputies from Malta, but in a few hours I sent off three ships, laden with corn, and got £7000. from the Queen, and gave 500 ounces of my own to relieve them. Nelson was out with his fleet at that time, looking for the French fleet."

Sir Charles Whitworth also addressed Lord Nelson on this subject :—

"St. Petersburgh, January 4th, 1800.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 1st of November, by a Neapolitan courier; and I have now the satisfaction to acquaint your

Lordship, that his Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased to accede to your recommendation of Lady Hamilton and of Captain Ball. Her Ladyship is named *Dame* Petite Croix de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem, and Captain Ball, Commandeur Honoraire. I have, according to his Imperial Majesty's desire, made his Majesty acquainted with such his intention, requesting that his Majesty would be pleased to allow Lady Hamilton and Captain Ball to accept and wear the same. I should feel extremely happy could I flatter myself with having been the least instrumental in furthering the object of your Lordship's wishes; and have the honour to be, &c.

"CHARLES WHITWORTH."[1]

To Captain Ball, Lord Nelson made known the honour on the 25th of February, in the following terms:—"I have the pleasure to announce to you that I am directed by his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, and Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to present you with his letter and the Grand Cross of the Order, and that you have an Honorary Commanderie. This mark of the Grand Master's sense of your zeal and ability, in the conducting of the affairs in the island of Malta, cannot but give me the very highest satisfaction, who so well know your gallantry and excellent judgment. Whenever you do me the honour of coming afloat, I shall present you with this distinguished mark of honour."[2]

Captain, or as he is now generally styled by Lord Nelson, Governor Ball, wrote the following congratulatory letter to Lady Hamilton:—

"Malta, 27th February, 1800.

"My dear Madam,

"I most sincerely congratulate your Ladyship on the distinguished mark of favour which his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, has been pleased to confer upon you in creating you Chanoiness of the Order of St. John of Jerusa-

[1] From autograph in Nelson Papers: Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iv. p. 192, note.

[2] From an autograph letter in the possession of Sir W. Keith Ball, Bart., printed in Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iv. p. 192.

lem. He has been graciously pleased to confer upon me the honour of Commander of the same Order, from which I derive a double satisfaction. The first, in the honour of being your brother and defender; and secondly, from the consideration of its being a token of regard of my invaluable friend and patron, Lord Nelson. This memento will have the same effect upon your Ladyship's mind. With what joy you must have received the news of his Lordship's success in the capture of the French Admiral's ship, the Généreux, with a corvette, and the dispersion of the rest of the enemy's squadron bound to Malta, not one of which will ever attempt to make for the destined port. We may truly call him a *heaven*-born Admiral, upon whom fortune smiles wherever he goes. We have been carrying on the blockade of Malta sixteen months, during which time the enemy never attempted to throw in great succours until this month. His Lordship arrived off here the day they were within a few leagues of the island, captured the principal ships, and dispersed the rest, so that not one has reached the port. I dined with his Lordship yesterday, who is apparently in good health, but he complains of indisposition and the necessity of repose. I do not think a short stay here will hurt his health, particularly as his ship is at anchor, and his mind not harassed. Troubridge and I are extremely anxious that the French ships (Le Guillaume Tell in particular), and the French garrison of La Valetta, shall surrender to him. I would not urge it if I were not convinced that it will ultimately add both to his honour and happiness. It will only be a sacrifice of a short time, after which he may retire to enjoy the air and society of his good friends at Palermo. What a gratification it would be to us if you and Sir William could pay us a short visit. We could make up a snug whist party every evening for Sir William, but we should fall very short in our attempts to amuse you, when we consider the multiplicity of engagements and amusements you have every day at Palermo.

"Troubridge is extremely ill, of a bilious complaint, which will require time to get the better of. I write to Sir William by this conveyance. I therefore only send my best respects to Miss Knight and Mrs. Cadogan. I wish we could bring about a match between the former lady and Captain Gould: he

has money enough for both, and she abilities. Adieu, my dear lady and sister. May you live a thousand years; but at all events may you be supremely happy while you live, prays your

"Obliged brother and friend,
"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL.

"Her Excellency Lady Hamilton, C.S.J.J.
"Is that right? pray tell me how to address your letter."

Towards the close of 1799, Lord William Bentinck communicated to Lord Nelson an account of the proceedings of the army in Italy in the following letter:—

"Head Quarters, Tusia, Dec. 11th, 1799.

"My Lord,

"It was only yesterday that I learnt from Mr. Jackson,[1] who is at Florence, that your Lordship still remained at Palermo. The having been before informed that you had sailed to Minorca, with which place there is scarcely any communication, has prevented me from sending you the account of the operations of the army of Italy, which both my duty and my inclination equally made me desirous of doing. The battle of the 4th November, which took place at Genola and Savegliano, and which terminated in the complete defeat of the French army under the command of Championet, with the loss of 4000 prisoners, was followed immediately by the surrender of Coni on the 4th December, and the total expulsion of the French from Piedmont. That important and very strong fortress was taken after a bombardment of twenty hours only, and the garrison consisting of 2500 men, exclusive of 800 wounded from the late affairs, were made prisoners of war. The enemy, however, still occupy Genoa and the whole Riviére. The Austrian army are now going into winter quarters. This is a brief account of the termination of this very brilliant campaign. Fortunate would it have been for the common cause if the affairs in Switzerland had been as fortunately terminated. I think it my duty to state to your Lordship the numerous complaints which I for ever hear at the Austrian head-quarters respecting

[1] Hon. Thomas Jackson, Minister at Turin.

what is termed by them the inactivity of the British fleet. I understand that several Austrian provision ships coming from Leghorn have been taken by privateers cruising in the Riviére. To these complaints it is impossible for me to give any answer, and indeed would be difficult to persuade men who fancy that the operations of an army and a fleet are exactly similar, and that a squadron may be at all times, and in all places, as stationary as a picquet of cavalry. It is needless also for me to assure them, that your Lordship is as well convinced as they can be of the advantage of preventing provisions from coming to the French army by sea into the Riviére, and that if supplies do arrive, it can be only attributed to the want of means, or to the impossibility of calling them off, and to no want of the desire of co-operation or of exertions, either on the part of your Lordship, or of that of the fleet. The present situation of the French army must depend entirely upon the sea for support. The only road by which the necessary supplies can come is by the sea-shore from Nice, and I have been told, that in many places it is hardly practicable. I have now only to add a piece of news which, I am sorry to say has been confirmed, of the departure of the Russians. The Marshal, with his whole army, is on his march to Poland. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's

"Obedient humble servant,

"W. BENTINCK."

At the commencement of 1800, Lord Minto (formerly Sir Gilbert Elliot), the Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Vienna, had heard reports of Lord Nelson's intention to return to England. It produced the following letter:—

"Vienna, 25th January, 1800.

"My dear Lord Nelson,

"I write in a moment of great anxiety, and hardly dare ask you whether it is true that this part of the world, for your sphere extends thus far, is going to lose you. If it is so, we must not as Englishmen complain that England should reclaim her share in you. I can only say, that wherever you are, may public glory and private happiness attend you.

You are indeed rich in both. I must also say that my affection and admiration will follow you at home or abroad; and that I never think my voice so well employed, or so honourably for myself as in expressing these sentiments. I shall feel from my heart for all those you leave in Sicily, some of whom cannot follow you, though others may hope to do so. I have nothing interesting to tell you from hence beyond what I have written to the Queen and Sir William, and indeed, at this moment, I do not find myself in heart to do more than express my affectionate devotion to you, and to entreat that throughout life you will rank me amongst your truest and warmest friends, a title which I am more proud of than any which even his Majesty could give me. Pray give me a confidential line on such points as you know are interesting to me, and believe me ever,

"My dear friend,

"Your most affectionate and faithful

"MINTO."

Nelson wrote to Lord Minto on the 26th of February to express the value he entertained for his friendship, and to tell him of the capture of Le Généreux, one of the vessels that escaped capture or destruction at Aboukir, and of the death of the French Admiral Perrée; together with the taking of the store-ship with 2000 troops, and provisions, and stores for the relief of La Valetta. This, he says, made nineteen sail of the line, and four Admirals that he had been at the capture of during the war. "Ought I (says he) to trust Dame Fortune any more? her daughter may wish to step in and tear the mother from me. I have in truth serious thoughts of giving up active service—Greenwich Hospital seems a fit retreat for me, after being *evidently* thought unfit to command in the Mediterranean." In this letter he inveighs against the neglect of the King in not going to Naples. "We have been, (he says) and are, trying every thing to induce the King to go to Naples, but hitherto in vain. I almost doubt Acton's sincerity as to wishing him, yet he appears as anxious as any of us: the Junta of State are as bad as the Cardinal—all are open to the foulest corruption, and the presence of a Monarch was never more necessary to heal the disorders of

a kingdom. For some cause, which I do not understand, the pardon and act of oblivion is not yet issued, although I know it has been signed these three months; the heads of a whole kingdom cannot be cut off, be they ever such rascals."[1]

Tyson, Lord Nelson's Secretary, was appointed Prize Agent for the Généreux, as appears from the following letters addressed by him to Lady Hamilton:—

"Audacious, on my passage to Syracuse, 21st Feb. 1800.

"Many thanks, my dear Lady Hamilton, for your kind note inclosed in Lord Nelson's letter. You will, no doubt, be surprised when you see this dated from the Audacious, but I have left Lord Nelson. Be not alarmed, my Lady, it is for my benefit, and only for a time, and that great and good man proposed it, and I, of course, acquiesced. I send you herewith many letters from him, and all under cover to General Acton. His Lordship has explained the whole in his letters, therefore it is needless for me to repeat it. However, it may be needful to say that the Captains, who were at the capture of the Généreux, have done me the honour to appoint me the Prize Agent, which when it was understood by Lord K. there were a number of black looks and orders given respecting the prizes which I did not like; therefore I went, and waited on him, and told him the whole of the circumstances, and that it was necessary for the benefit of the captors that *I should* have the direction of the sales of them, and at the same time I gave his brother and Secretary one half of the agency, which brightened all up again, and now I am one of the best fellows in the world with him. I have got orders from him to the officers at Mahon to purchase every thing she has got in, and supply me with store-houses, &c. I almost regret that I had not been born a Scotchman, and had not Lancashire produced a Lady Hamilton, whom I am so proud of calling my country-woman, I do not know, but I might hail from the North of the Tweed.

"I have been keeping jubilee as well as you at Palermo on the 18th instant; while you were masking, I was congratulating our good Lord Nelson on his having taken the fourth Admiral

[1] Autograph in the Minto Papers. Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iv. p. 194.

this war, and twelve out of the thirteen ships that went to Egypt. In a note I wrote to Captain Martin on the 16th instant, I told him that Lord K. I supposed was come to reap laurels at Malta. Little did I think then that Nelson should snatch them to decorate his own brows with them from the other that *wants them so much*, for Nelson had enough before. I beg you will excuse my hasty scrawl, as it blows hard, and we have just made Cape Passaro, and I hope to-night to get on board the Généreux to proceed in her to Mahon. I cannot now give you any particulars of the circumstances attending the capture; however, you have them, I know, from our good Lord Nelson.

"God bless you all. If I have time I will write to Signora Madre from Syracuse, and I beg you will believe me with the greatest sincerity and truth,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,

"JNO. TYSON."

"Le Généreux, Port Mahon,
23rd March, 1800.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"After some of the most severe gales of wind I have experienced for many years, we arrived here on the 16th inst. having split most of our sails, and very near losing our masts. The gale we had coming from Naples was nothing to the one we had on the 9th of the month. We were obliged to run 100 miles before the wind to save the masts, and the sea breaking on board the ship on both sides; fortunately she was very tight in her bottom. This will, no doubt, put you in mind of Allen on board the Vanguard, 'while the sticks stand,' &c. I am sorry to find this place so badly stocked with every thing—no tea, coffee, sugar, or cheese to be had, or indeed any thing fit to eat. I am exceedingly anxious to hear of our invaluable Lord Nelson, as in his last letter he mentions a return of the pain in his heart, of which he suffered so much coming from Egypt. I hope he is recovered again, and that you have heard from him lately that he is so. Every day here seems a week, until I get back again to him I shall not be easy. I am using all my efforts to get the Généreux cleared, but she has such a quantity

of provisions and stores on board that I cannot get any store-houses here to put them into, and I shall be obliged to land them on the wharf, and sell off as well as I can. I have no assistance from any one except the officers of the dock-yard. Another expedition sailed from Toulon for Malta on the 5th of this month. I hope and trust Lord Nelson will fall in with them, and I doubt not the issue. The French have not one ship of war of any description at Toulon; at present only one corvette which escaped us on the 18th of February. Should an opportunity offer for this place, may I beg the favour of your Ladyship to tell me all about Lord Nelson, my anxiety is very great on his account. I feel more than I can express about his health.

"The weather is so cold here, and not one square of glass in our cabin windows, that I am half starved, and have been in bed all day yesterday in a fever and sore throat. The French rascals broke all the windows before we took possession of her, and I cannot get a lodging on shore for money. An English ship is going to Palermo in a few days, when I will send you up what I can collect, as I know your city does not produce much. May I also beg the favour of you to desire Mrs. Cadogan's Secretary to tell me all the news of Palermo, &c. My head is so bad at present that I am really not able to write to them, and my throat is so sore that I can only swallow liquids. If it continues I shall go to the hospital, for we have no surgeon, or any attendance from other ships.

"I hope that good Sir William enjoys his health, to whom I beg of you to make my respectful compliments, and that he may long do so, as well as your Ladyship, Mrs. Cadogan, &c. is the sincere wish of your Ladyship's most obedient and most grateful servant,

"JNO. TYSON.

"A kind of gaol fever has carried off a number of our men, and we have two Lieutenants at the hospital, and about fifty men with it, which makes me very anxious to get out of her."

On the 4th of March, Nelson wrote to Lady Hamilton:—

"March 4th, 1800.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"My health is in such a state, and to say the truth, an

uneasy mind at being taught my lesson like a school-boy, that my DETERMINATION is made to leave Malta on the 15th morning of this month, on the first moment after the wind comes favourable; UNLESS I am SURE that I shall get hold of the French ships,—there my friends would have me attend to the last sprig of laurel which will ever be plucked by, my dear Lady, your faithful and affectionate,

"BRONTÉ AND NELSON.

"I beg my best regards to Sir William."

On the 10th, Lord Nelson quitted Malta, arrived at Palermo on the 16th, leaving Sir T. Troubridge before La Valetta, and upon his arrival, he wrote to him and complained much of the state of his health, hoped for amendment, of which he then could see but glimmering hopes, and thought his career of public service at an end, unless the French fleet should come into the Mediterranean, when nothing should prevent his dying at his post. He attributed the affection of the heart, of which he so frequently complained, to the anxiety he experienced upon his return to Syracuse, in 1798.

Governor Ball wrote to Lady Hamilton on the day of Nelson's departure from Malta:—

"Malta, 10th March, 1800.

"My dear Madam,

"Our dear friend, Lord Nelson, has determined to return to Palermo for a short time for the re-establishment of his health. I was very desirous that he should prolong his stay, but as I perceive he requires repose and the society of his good friends at Palermo, I rejoice at his going, as the great and important services he has rendered to all Europe who are enemies to the French, entitle him to every honour and happiness. We shall not meet such another—such rare qualities seldom combine in one person. I never can expect to gain so valuable and true a friend—such good fortune can only happen once in a man's life. His Lordship has been pleased to give me a most flattering proof of your favourable opinion of me, which I shall preserve as an invaluable deposit.

"My very best respects to Sir William Hamilton, I hope for the pleasure of seeing you both before you embark for

England. I have the honour to be, with great respect, my dear Madam, your Ladyship's most obliged,

"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL."

Captain Sir Thomas Troubridge felt severely the neglect of the Neapolitan Court in regard to Malta. Pleasure seemed wholly to absorb their time, and he thus addressed Lady Hamilton :—

"January 14th, 1800.

"Dear Madam,

"I am duly favoured with your Ladyship's letter of the 8th inst., and feel most completely happy at your promise to play no more. Be assured I have not written to you from any impertinent interference, but from a wish to warn you of the ideas that were going about, which you could not hear of, as no person can be indifferent to the construction put on things which may appear to your Ladyship innocent, and I make no doubt, done with the best intention—still your enemies will, and do give things a different colouring.

"I will not trust to paper the business of the Singer, the ill-natured turn it may get induced me to put your Ladyship on your guard. I think it is gone to Pisa, and from thence to London. You may not know that you have many enemies, I therefore risk your displeasure by telling you. I am much gratified you have taken it as I *meant it—purely good.* You tell me I must write you all my wants. The Queen is the only person who *pushes things ; you must excuse me,* I trust *nothing* there, *nor do I or ever shall I ask from the Court of Naples* any thing but for their service, and the just demands I have on them. I feel their ill-treatment and deep intrigues too much ever to *forget* or *forgive* them. I feel so conscious I did *not deserve it from them or their Ministers,* nor can I even thank them for the corn. Trabier, when he heard we had taken the *strong* but *necessary measures* to oblige them to comply with the treaty, writes to say, *if they refuse to go, oblige them.* Does the *worthless traitor* think he can deceive me by his *hackneyed villainy ;* no, *be assured not,* I keep a watchful eye on them all—they do not carry on their intrigues, even with the assistance of Mr. Tough,[1] *unnoticed.*

[1] James Tough, Esq. Consul at Palermo.

Lucky for the two miscreants they got notice to be off without coming here. Certainly the Court has no right to account to me for what they do—all I ask is, not *to practise their intrigues on me while I am serving them and serving them well,* with a risk of half ruining myself by the sums I have sent different ways to purchase corn, which I am not, or will not be benefited by, though I take the risk of the sea and the enemy. I believe their Sicilian Majesties have never experienced as much from their *own subjects.* I even turned to their Majesties' use all I got at the islands, which certainly was the property of the captors; you may tell them I paid the advice boats which used to go daily to Palermo, Salerno, &c. &c., and laid out £500. out of my pocket from the first of my going to the islands to my leaving Naples for Cività Vecchia, not counting the expense of wines, &c. while I commanded at St. Elmo, Capua, &c. The whole time I have been employed in their cause I kept people in pay to procure information, and rewarded many I thought deserved it agreeably to the Queen's directions; but *they never offered to repay.* I must also tell you that I was chequed on the Culloden books while on shore, and shall lose my pay for that time. Had I been serving my own Sovereign, I should have had immense allowances—I had nothing. I even paid from my private purse *the feed of all the horses, a public table, wood, cart-hire, intelligence, spies, and a thousand other things* which are too tedious to relate. This will shew your Ladyship that I ever was a great economist, or the sum would have been considerably greater. Finally, I should have been a very rich man if I had served GEORGE III. instead of the King of Naples. I state these things, among the many, to shew you I am not *sore* without cause. I pray your Ladyship to believe me, your truly obliged and obedient humble servant,

"T. TROUBRIDGE.

"With all I have stated I shall continue to serve them, and use the same exertion I have always done in their cause. I never suffer party to interfere with service. I beg my compliments to Sir William. The new Admiral, I suppose, will send us home—the new hands will serve them better, as they will soon be all from the north, full of *liberality and generosity, as all Scots are, with some exceptions.*"

It is evident from this letter that the pleasures and occupations of the Court of Naples excited much dissatisfaction, and Sir Thomas Troubridge, with manly zeal, did not hesitate to address Lady Hamilton upon the reports prevalent in regard to her conduct. So severely did this gallant officer feel on the occasion, that he became seriously ill, and a fit of jaundice was the consequence, from which he was suffering greatly in March. He represented in the strongest terms to Lord Nelson the condition in which they were left, and the utter hopelessness of serving Malta unless assistance could be rendered to them. Governor Ball, however, acted with great boldness and promptitude, and finding all appeals fruitless, seized upon the ships laden with corn, and thus relieved the Maltese. General Sir John Acton made complaint to Lord Nelson of the violence that had been committed in the port of Girgenti by seizing and carrying off to Malta two vessels loaded with corn; and Nelson replied to the Minister, Sir William Hamilton, by expressing his concern that even the appearance of the slightest disrespect should be offered by any officers under his command to the flag of his Sicilian Majesty; but that the act was of the most absolute and imperious necessity, that either the island of Malta should have been delivered up to the French, or that the King's orders should be anticipated for those vessels carrying their cargoes of corn into Malta. Lord Nelson, however, wrote to Sir Thomas Troubridge that the measure of sending into a port was strong; but that at sea there could be no difficulty. He hoped the urgency of the case would not happen again. The following letter from Governor Ball to Mr. Macauley, the Treasurer of Malta, who assisted Ball in obtaining supplies, may here be added:—

"Malta, 22nd March, 1800.

"My dear Macauley,

"Many thanks to you, my dear friend, for your two letters from Girgenti, and one from Palermo, dated the 14th inst., which contain the most pleasing information. Be assured that I will never forget the kind interest you take in my concerns. I assure you that I miss you very much, and hope your stay will be very short at Palermo. I request you to return as soon as possible. You have the good wishes of all

the Maltese who have a true sense of your disinterested zeal in rendering them services and enlightening their minds. I have had several petitioners for the place of Ingenieur et Surintendant des grands Chemins in the room of Signior *Macoli!* but since I have explained that the only profit you gained by your labour, was a good appetite, they all hope you will return and enjoy the same many years, in which I most sincerely join them. I send off to Count de Jutt 60,000 scudi; everything goes on smooth, Caruana is coming round, and behaves very well. I shall write to General Acton a letter of thanks the 24th, and I shall send you a longer letter. I rejoice sincerely that our worthy Italinsky[1] has obtained the distinguished honours he so much merits. I shall write him a congratulatory letter in a day or two. I shall attend to all you have said in your letters, which I consider very essential.

"Pray let me know what Sir William Hamilton is determined on; he is the most amiable and accomplished man I know, and his heart is certainly one of the best in the world. I wish he and her Ladyship would pay me a visit; they are an irreparable loss to me, for I am convinced that but for their influence with their Sicilian Majesties and his Ministers, the poor Maltese would have been starved, and my head would have been sacrificed in their moment of despair. I long to know Lord Nelson's determination; it is impossible that any person can feel more pure regard for him than I do, for I have seen him in the hour of danger and difficulties, and I never can forget his great and immortal traits. General Graham will not allow my Maltese to make false attacks, all I can urge will not do. I can perceive that he gives in to Lord Keith's prejudices, as he relates and repeats whatever is against our friends at Palermo. He does not do it to me, knowing that my friendship revolts at it. Adieu, my dear friend, believe me with sincere regard, yours,

"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL."

[1] The Chevalier Italinsky was made second or corresponding Minister from the Emperor of Russia to the Court of Palermo. Nelson had much regard for him He succeeded Count Pouschkin as Minister at War for the Navy and Army in Italy.

Sir Thomas Troubridge's opinion of the Neapolitans is again shewn in the following letter to Lady Hamilton :—

"Malta, March 30th, 1800.

"My dear Madam,

"I have just received your very obliging letter from Palermo, desiring me to say whether I would have a pension in this country or England. *I have been so long here, and seen so much of the Neapolitan Government*, that I well know they have no intention of doing anything. As I have before written both Lord Nelson and your Ladyship to say I would take nothing in this country. As for England, that is out of the question. If the Queen has any intention and power to do anything, a very moderate sum at my own disposal, given at once, would content me; a large pension is out of the question. I am still very ill, and confined to my cabin, and have a prospect of returning to my country with a broken constitution and my *purse* much *lighter* for serving the King of Naples; but, I thank God, uncontaminated in my principles. I am no stranger to Acton's duplicity, but I will no more trouble myself about the —— set. Adieu, and believe me, dear Madam,

"Your truly obliged and faithful friend,

"T. TROUBRIDGE."

At Palermo, Nelson met with Major Perkins Magra, the British Consul at Tunis, whose ability and energy in the public service he had always much admired, and he took the opportunity afforded by the Major's return, to write to the Dey of Algiers, and claim the restitution of a vessel laden with corn from Palermo to Malta, which had been seized.[1] The Major brought a letter of introduction to Lady Hamilton from Governor Ball :—

"My dear Madam,

"Major Magra will have the honour of presenting this to your Ladyship, and of assuring you how much you are our theme. I am sorry to hear that you have had a finger ache, but I hope it was of short duration. I hear that you are very

[1] See Appendix, No. III.

gay, and his Grace and Sir William in good health. The Major possesses military talents, and appears to feel for our very critical state, which he can detail fully to you. I never can despond while under the auspicious flag of his Grace de Bronté, and I do all I can to make every body feel as sanguine. God bless your Ladyship. I have the honour to be, with great respect,

"Your much obliged,

"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL.

"7th November."

In January, 1800, Lord Keith placed the port of Genoa in a state of blockade. The campaign in Italy was to open on the 25th of February.

CHAPTER XI.

1800.

In March, 1800, Lord Nelson received intelligence by a courier, from Constantinople, that the Ministers of England and Russia, had refused to ratify a Convention entered into between the Porte and the French General, to permit the French army to return to Europe. This determination was in accordance with the view Lord Nelson always entertained on this subject, which now became one of no little uneasiness to all parties concerned. From documents lately printed,[1] it appears that at El Arish, on the 24th of January, 1800, a Convention was signed by Moustapha Rasched Effendi, Moustapha Reffichi Effendi, two commissioners appointed on the part of the Grand Vizir, and by General Desaix, and Monsieur Poussielgue, Commissioners appointed on the part of General Kléber, by whom it had been agreed that the French troops, then in Egypt, should evacuate that country, and be allowed to return to France. Sir Sidney Smith has been very generally considered as a principal agent, or contracting party in this Convention;[2] but it appears that the Commissioners of the Grand Vizir, and of General Kléber, met on board the Tigre (Sir Sidney Smith's ship), and that they agreed to refer all disputed points to the opinion of Sir Sidney, reserving to themselves the right of rejection or adoption. His signature

[1] Mr. Barrow's Life and Correspondence of Sir Sidney Smith, Vol. i. p. 383, and Vol. ii. p. 1—79.

[2] The Grand Vizir invested the Capitan Pasha and Sir Sidney Smith with full powers to do whatever they might judge for the best, and had them both at the same time invested with two fine pelisses, in the presence of all the grandees and banditti. See Letter of John Keith, Esq. to —— Tooke, Esq., June 27th, 1800, in Barrow's Life of Sir W. Sidney Smith, Vol. i. p. 395.

was not called for, nor given to any one point of the Convention.

In a letter to Lord Nelson, dated from the Ottoman camp, El Arish, January 30th, 1800, Sir Sidney Smith says:—"Your Lordship will observe I have not signed it, the execution of most of the articles depending solely on the Ottoman Government, and on the discipline which may be preserved in the Turkish army. I have, however, reserved to myself that right of arbitration, which the confidence, both of the Grand Vizir and General Kléber, most unequivocally expressed, may enable me to exercise; and I have now only to endeavour to prevent any untoward circumstances from again causing the sword to be drawn in this quarter, after it has been thus happily sheathed, by the moderation, humanity, and sound policy of these two highly distinguished chiefs."[1]

On the 8th of January, Lord Keith addressed a letter to the French General Kléber, communicating to him that he had received positive orders from his Majesty not to consent to any capitulation with the French troops, which he, the General, commanded in Egypt and Syria, at least unless they laid down their arms, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and delivered up all the ships and stores of the port of Alexandria to the Allied powers. Lord Keith was ignorant of the order Lord Grenville had given to the Earl of Elgin, our ambassador at the Porte, to permit the Convention to go on, though not exactly upon the terms first proposed. Lord Grenville thought the terms of capitulation too advantageous to the French, and that Sir Sidney Smith was not authorized to enter into, or give his sanction to such an agreement in his Majesty's name. But as the Convention had been entered into, and if annulled, the enemy's situation could not be resumed as it before stood, his Majesty was unwilling to lower the regard due to the public faith, and therefore directed his officers to abstain from every act inconsistent with the engagements to which Sir Sidney had erroneously given the sanction of his name. The Ambassador at the Porte was therefore left to settle with the Porte upon a form of

[1] Barrow's Life of Sir W. Sidney Smith, Vol. ii, p. 7.

passport, to be given in the name of his Majesty as an ally of the Porte. By this means his Majesty took no part in the treaty, but carefully abstained from offering any impediment to the execution of it.[1]

Sir Sidney Smith was, it is evident, placed in an awkward predicament, by the sanction he had given to the terms of the Convention. His firm friend, Earl Spencer, then at the head of the Admiralty, after receiving his explanations upon the subject, wrote to him as follows:—"I shall satisfy myself with saying, in general, that your explanations and defence are so far completely satisfactory to my mind, as to prove that you have throughout acted in the manner which to you appeared the best; and, though I think you seem to have been under an error, with respect to the continuation of your power as a Plenipotentiary (an error, by the by, into which I am not surprised that you were led by the communications you received from Lord Elgin), and though I also differ considerably with you in the opinion you seem to have formed of the probable result of the return of Kléber's army into France, I cannot help allowing, that you acted upon very strong grounds, and that, upon the whole, if it were possible that we *here* could have been in complete possession of all those grounds, for the purpose of forming a determination on the subject, the Convention of El Arish would most probably have been carried into execution."

The receipt of Lord Keith's letter, and the refusal to ratify the Convention, occasioned an immediate renewal of hostilities on the 20th of March. The Turks were defeated, and much blood was spilt.

Sir Sidney Smith, in a letter to Lord Keith, dated April 5th, 1800, says, that General Kléber, after having notified his intention to renew hostilities, attacked the Vizir's advanced posts, on the morning of the 20th of March, in the vicinity of Cairo. The French opened a fire of sixty pieces of cannon on the Turkish advanced posts; the Turks advanced in bodies of from 50 to 100 men, and skirmished with the French line, which remained steady till these were either

[1] Letter of Lord Grenville to Lord Elgin, March 28th, 1800. Life of Sir W. Sidney Smith, Vol. ii. p. 13.

killed or dispersed; the whole Turkish army then advanced in a tumultuous manner; but when the French moved forward in line, the whole multitude of Turks ran away, except a body of them who had got into Cairo, and began a massacre of the Christian inhabitants, which occasioned the fire of the French in the citadel to open on the city.[1]

General Kléber, assassinated by a Janissary sent from Gaza, was succeeded in the command by General Abdallah Menou, the chief of the Colonist party, who had turned Mahometan to marry a pretty woman, and to become a Bey of Egypt.

M. Thiers gives the following account of the assassination of General Kléber:—"A young man, a native of Aleppo, named Suleiman, an extravagant fanatic, who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and studied at the mosque of El Azhar, with intention of obtaining admission into the body of the Doctors of the Faith, was journeying in Palestine at the time when the remains of the army of the Grand Vizir were passing through the country. His morbid imagination was powerfully excited by the condition to which he beheld his co-religionists reduced, and communication with the Aga of the Janissaries tended still further to inflame his fanaticism. He offered to assassinate 'the Sultan of the French,' as the General Kléber was called. For this purpose he obtained a dromedary and a sum of money, repaired to Gaza, crossed the desert, thence to Cairo, where he shut himself up in the Great Mosque, devoted to students and poor travellers. He communicated his design to the four principal Sheiks belonging to this foundation, who endeavoured to dissuade him from his terrible design; but they could not prevail with him to abandon it, nor did they give intelligence respecting it to the French authorities, by which it might have been guarded against or prevented. Suleiman armed himself with a dagger, and followed his victim for several days without being able to accomplish his purpose. He, however, at length penetrated into the garden of the head-quarters, and then hid himself in a cistern. On the 14th of June he appeared before Kléber, who was engaged with the

[1] See Life of Sir W. Sidney Smith, Vol. i. p. 391.

architect of the army (Protain), and determining upon the repairs necessary to be effected in consequence of the mischief done to the house by bombs and balls in the late contest. The fanatic approached him, and, under the disguise of a beggar soliciting alms, plunged his dagger several times into his breast. Protain struck him, but was also assailed with the assassin's dagger. The soldiers, alarmed by the cries, hastened to the spot, and seized the murderer. Kléber soon expired. The assassin was tried, confessed his crime, was condemned, and impaled. The Sheiks, who had suffered this tragical event to take place, were beheaded."

The following is the character of Kléber as given by M. Thiers:—"Kléber était le plus bel homme de l'armée. Sa grande taille, sa noble figure où respirait toute la fierté de son âme, sa bravoure à la fois audacieuse et calme, son intelligence prompte et sûre, en faisaient sur les champs de bataille le plus imposant des capitaines. Son esprit était brillant, original, mais inculte. Il lisait sans cesse et exclusivement, Plutarque et Quinte-Curce: il y cherchait l'aliment des grandes âmes, l'histoire des héros de l'antiquité. Il était capricieux, indocile et frondeur. On avait dit de lui qu'il ne voulait ni commander ni obéir, et c'était vrai. Il obéit sous le général Bonaparte, mais en murmurant; il commanda quelquefois, mais sous le nom d'autrui, sous le général Jourdan, par exemple, prenant par une sorte d'inspiration le commandement au milieu du feu, l'exerçant en homme de guerre supérieur, et, après la victoire, rentrant dans son rôle de lieutenant, qu'il préférait à tout autre. Kléber était licentieux dans ses mœurs et son langage, mais intègre, désintéressé, comme on l'était alors; car la conquête du monde n'avait pas encore corrompu les caractères."[1]

Of Menou, Thiers states:—"Menou était très-instruit, brave de sa personne, enthousiaste de l'expédition, mais incapable de diriger une armée, et frappé de ridicule, parce qu'il avait épousé une femme turque, et s'était fait Mahométan lui-même. Il se faisait appeler Abdallah Menou, ce qui égayait les soldats, et diminuait beaucoup le respect dont un commandant en chef a besoin d'être entouré."[2]

[1] Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire par M. Thiers, tom. ii. p. 69.

[2] Le même, tom. ii. p. 78.

Lord Keith turned over the command of the Naval forces on this station to Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart., on the 7th of September, with orders to co-operate with the General commanding the land forces, and to carry into effect the evacuation of the French army, by means of troop ships, and the most serviceable transports. The evacuation effected, Sir Sidney Smith returned to England the bearer of the dispatches communicating the intelligence of the expulsion of the French from Egypt.

Much correspondence took place between Lord Elgin and Sir Sidney Smith, a portion of which will be found in the Life of Sir Sidney Smith; and a correspondence, also, I find was carried on between Lord Elgin and Lord Nelson, on the subject, which I think it right here to insert, as it serves to make the particulars of the Convention of El Arish more complete. Among these papers are the following extracts from letters of the Earl of Elgin to Sir Sidney Smith, which are marked as Certified Extracts, and subscribed by W. SIDNEY SMITH, who has also appended the following note. "His Lordship recommended in the strongest manner that I would not take the question out of the hands of the Turks. It will, however, be seen, that previous to the reception of this recommendation, *viz.*, on the 30th, I wrote the Note B."[1]

Extract of a Letter from Lord Elgin to Sir Sidney Smith, dated November 30th, 1799.

"It was my first object in coming here to communicate very fully with you; but as your brother received letters from you immediately on my arrival, by which I found you were apprized of every thing we knew at Constantinople, relative to the correspondence established between the Grand Vizir and the French General, and had actually sent Major Bromley to the Turkish camp with your sentiments on the Turkish letters you had intercepted, I contented myself with one official letter by a Turkish messenger, to say that I had made a point of your being a party with the Grand Vizir in my capitulations to be entered into with the French troops, and that I considered you, as commanding his Majesty's ships

[1] This note is not among the papers in my possession.

in those seas, fully authorized to give every protection to the French who might quit Egypt in virtue of such capitulation. . . . . These transactions would at any time call for the most vigilant attention on our part, but the circumstances of the war in Europe unfortunately present fresh and most urgent motives, which will, I am sure, appear to you as having a particular connection with the operations in which you are engaged . . . . . In this melancholy state of affairs, I feel myself doubly called upon to recommend every possible means that can aid in forcing the French out of Egypt, and prevent the loss on the part of the Turks, which the French evidently aim at gaining. In this conviction I have been with the Ottoman ministers. I have represented to them the inferences obviously arising out of the reports made in France by Berthier and Buonaparte since their return thither, inferences which prove that the possession of Egypt is considered and meant to be an object of national importance."

Extract of another Letter from Lord Elgin to Sir Sidney Smith, dated December 7th, 1799.

"I have assured the Government in your name, that they may rely on your hearty co-operation. For my part, I have grounds for saying, that whether considered as the means of national grandeur, or as a focus of revolutionary principles, the possession of Egypt is of greater value to the French than any other conquest whatsoever, and that, either in your capacity of Englishman, or as well wisher to the Ottoman Empire, we are called upon to employ every possible effort to drive them out; nor can it be necessary for me to advert to any, as you have the advantage of personal communication with the Grand Vizir."

Extract of another Letter from Lord Elgin to Sir Sidney Smith, dated December 17th, 1799.

"Nothing can be beyond the immediate importance to us of seeing Egypt recovered from the French; but although I cannot enter into details in writing, I beg to assure you the mode of doing this involves the highest consideration of general politics, and I point it out to you as a matter of the

utmost consequence, that you should, at this conjuncture, scrupulously avoid whatever may give suspicion or umbrage to the Turkish Government, or take from them an occasion of conducting this business in any way they think proper, consistent with their engagements with us."

Extract of another Letter from Lord Elgin to Sir Sidney Smith, dated December 22nd, 1799.

"I inclose you a copy of a letter I sent to you overland, of the 17th instant. It was written at the very earnest request of the Ottoman Ministry, in consequence of representations they had received from the Grand Vizir, as well as the resolutions they had taken here, and forwarded for the guidance of the Grand Vizir in negociating the evacuation of Egypt; at any period it would be a galling sensation for a Government to see a foreign power assuming the total management of transactions with the enemy who had invaded its territories."

The first of these extracts, November 30th, 1799, tends to a certain extent to exculpate Sir Sidney Smith from the charge of having exceeded his power; as the Ambassador regarded him as being a party with the Grand Vizir in any capitulation to be entered into with the French.

EARL OF ELGIN TO LORD NELSON.

"Constantinople, 15th January, 1800.

"My Lord,

"I am happy in an opportunity of returning your Lordship my thanks for the letters I have within these few days received from you, dated 29 October,[1] 4 November,[1] and 8 and 9 December, they have all reached me nearly at the same time.

"Nothing, my Lord, can contribute more effectually to the success of the measures taken by this Government against the common enemy, nor to the promotion of the interests of Great Britain in this part of the world, than the

[1] These Letters may be found in Sir N. Harris Nicolas's Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson, Vol. iv.

hearty co-operation your Lordship has already so gloriously afforded and now continues to promise. I have taken occasion to communicate those assurances; and I must do the ministry of the Porte, and in particular, the Capitan Pasha, the justice to say, that they very fairly and very handsomely appreciate the services you have rendered them, and look up to you with confidence for their main support.

"Your Lordship must know more recently than through Constantinople, our latest intelligence from Egypt, which states, that Sir Sidney Smith had been called to a meeting with the Grand Vizir; where the correspondence between the Turkish and French commanders was taken into consideration and where it was agreed to open conferences with Deputies from the French army, in the hope of agreeing upon the peaceable evacuation of Egypt. Sir Sidney had gone to receive the Deputies on board the *Tigre*, but stress of weather had prevented his succeeding in this attempt, and it was in agitation by the Grand Vizir to receive the Deputies at Gaza. It is added that Sir Sidney objected to this management, and had represented, that the negotiations should be on board his ship, off Alexandria. But as this would be so far from the Turkish camp, of course, I should imagine his plan will be over-ruled.

"Your Lordship will also know directly from Sir Sidney, that the anxiety of the Porte to have the addition of some smaller English vessels, particularly for watching the coast of Egypt during the winter, is a very natural wish; and I should hope your Lordship will have it in your power to gratify them.

"In general I am happy in being able to say, that as far as my means of judging go, I see no reason to doubt the sincerity and the disposition to act heartily, of this Government. They are cordial with the Russians and with us.

"I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

"ELGIN."

This letter is followed by one marked "private" of the same date.

TO THE SAME.

[Private.] "Constantinople, January 15, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"The communication with the coast of Egypt at this season of the year is not such as leaves me the possibility of furnishing you any interesting details from hence, of the operations there. Still I wish to God, I could have an hour's conversation with your Lordship on matters there. Your influence from situation, character, and profession, are requisite to correct errors and to check some improper notions which are gaining much with some of our friends and co-operators.

"Sir Sidney Smith has, I am grieved to say, adopted a line of conduct of late contrary to the wishes of our Government, to the spirit of our present system, and to the position in which he has already shewn that he can be so very useful. He has assumed the character of Minister Plenipotentiary, grounded upon his having had that nomination to enable him to sign, with his brother, a treaty here last winter: he continues this title without confirmation, instructions, or powers from home. And he has exerted it upon different occasions to exercise police in Cyprus and elsewhere; a fact literally without precedent in diplomatic history. This has brought upon our arms the utmost ill-will; it serves as an apology for backwardness in the Turks, and has given occasion to most unpleasant scenes in the Seraglio, where we have of necessity enemies to our alliance. Sir Sidney has next gone from the camp in despite of every feeling of a Turk, to Jerusalem, shocked all their prejudices, and as his favoured Catholics have on the occasion been profuse in their presents to him, the Turks have made this display the pretext for oppressing these poor people by new contributions.

"Sir Sidney now attempts to take into his own hands the negotiation for evacuating Egypt begun by the Commanders of the Turkish and French armies, and proposes not only to have it on board his own ship away from the Grand Vizir, but also without any Turk of distinction as Plenipotentiary

with him. If your Lordship takes the trouble of perusing the correspondence from the French camp, you will readily perceive that the French, if they think seriously of evacuating Egypt, are too happy to engage us, as a principal party in their negotiation, first in the hopes of securing on their side the high notions of Sir Sidney, which alone, independent of other considerations, is already a strong point gained towards their being reconducted safe to France.

"Secondly, in the view of making this abandoning of Egypt an obligation to us instead of one to the Turks, who have nothing to repay an obligation of the sort. And thirdly, in the intention of tying us down in regard to the country they leave. On my arrival here I found this business opening, and a demand was made to me for passports to secure the safe return of the French who should agree with the Turks to abandon Egypt. I answered instantly, that there being British officers acting on the spot, they were the proper persons to grant this security, and had consequently powers to give the necessary passports.

"Since then I have again been called upon to interfere. But, as it is highly discreditable to this Government that foreign powers should be parties in stipulations to be made with the French for evacuating its territory, I have uniformly recommended to the Turks that they should proceed by themselves, the more so, as the spirit of my instructions pointed out this line: and the Turks have plans in view on this occasion, in which we cannot possibly take part, and which would insure (what is so desirable) a continuation of the war on their side.

"I have sent my private Secretary to the Grand Vizir's army, and have by him put Sir Sidney in possession of every thought I have on the subject. But this afternoon I have received the inclosed extract written by Sir Sidney to the Turkish Government on the 15th of December, which removes my hopes of conveying with efficacy my sentiments, and my instructions to him.

"Professions of private feeling would be greatly displaced in my correspondence with your Lordship, but I declare, there exists not a man for whom I entertain a warmer partiality than Sir Sidney Smith, nor whose conduct I could

and have taken more conscientious care to support. It is only after this, that I apply to your Lordship.

"I must add that General Koehler, whom I found here, with a detachment of artillery and engineer officers sent out by Government, is now going to remain with the Grand Vizir, and consequently Sir Sidney will no longer have it exclusively in his power to act as representing Great Britain.

"From all these circumstances your Lordship will be able to direct the orders to be forwarded to him. He has already distinguished himself so eminently in his professional line, and has so fine a field before him, that he certainly requires nothing more than to have his duty pointed out to him.

"Believe me ever, with the highest veneration,

"Your Lordship's most sincerely and respectfully,

"ELGIN."

Lord Nelson had, in a letter to the Earl of Elgin, of the date of December 21st, 1799, written: "I own my hope yet is, that the Sublime Porte will never permit a single Frenchman to quit Egypt; and I own myself wicked enough to wish them all to die in that country they chose to invade. We have scoundrels of French enough in Europe without them." And, "I again take the liberty of repeating that it is contrary to my opinion, allowing a single Frenchman from Egypt to return during the war to France. It would be a paper I never would subscribe to; but I submit to the better judgment of men." To his Excellency J. Spencer Smith he also wrote, December 22nd: "I cannot bring myself to believe they (the French) would entirely quit Egypt; and, if they would, I never would consent to one of them returning to the continent of Europe during the war. I wish them to *perish* in Egypt, and give a great lesson to the world of the justice of the ALMIGHTY." To Sir Sidney Smith, Nelson wrote, January 15th, 1800: "I have wrote to Lord Keith, and home, that I did not give credit that it was possible for you to give any passport for a single Frenchman, much less the army, after my positive order of March 18, 1799."

Lord Elgin addressed the following to Lord Nelson:—

"Constantinople, 18th February, 1800.

"My Lord,

"I had the honour of addressing your Lordship on Saturday last, by a courier, despatched by the Russian Minister to Admiral Ushakow. I now have an opportunity of writing in consequence of an application to your Lordship on the part of the Porte for your assistance towards accomplishing the terms of the capitulation contracted between the Grand Vizir and General Kléber for the total evacuation of Egypt by the French troops.

"Your Lordship's former correspondence sufficiently assures me how much you will join with me in regretting that terms, so far beyond our expectation, have been granted to the French. No hesitation, however, can exist in the importance of the recovery of Egypt; and your Lordship will therefore, I doubt not, add to the essential services you have uniformly rendered the Porte, by endeavouring to furnish them the assistance they now require.

"I must refer your Lordship to Sir Sidney Smith for all details on the convention and embarkation. The Porte are collecting as much shipping as they can procure here, to send to Egypt. But from what I learn, this aid and the French ships at Alexandria, said to be the three ships of war and fifty transports, will, by no means, be sufficient for the purpose. The intentions manifested by the French in their first overtures with Sir Sidney Smith evidently prove their anxiety to get possession of the ex-Venetian islands, and to keep Malta, so that, from the proofs of perfidy which have so peculiarly characterized this corps of troops in Egypt, it becomes an object of most unremitting care to prevent their availing themselves of any opening, they may acquire on their passage, of betraying the trust reposed in them; and I rest in the fullest confidence that your Lordship's knowledge of them, and your vigilance, will not only prevent such a mischief, but effectually punish it if attempted on their part.

"I have the honour to be, with much respect,

"My Lord, your Lordship's

"Most obedient and humble servant,

"ELGIN."

This was replied to by Nelson on the 31st March. He says, "I cannot help most sincerely regretting that ever any countenance was given to the Turks to enter into such a treaty with the French; for I ever held it to be impossible to permit that army to return to Europe, but as prisoners of war, and, in that case, not to France. And was I Commander-in-chief, even when the thing was done, I should have refused to ratify any consent or approbation of Sir Sidney Smith, and would have wrote to both the Grand Vizir and the French General, the impossibility of permitting a vanquished army to be placed by one Ally in a position to attack another Ally. In doing this, I should have taken all means to have made the Sublime Porte sensible of the necessity of the conduct Great Britain was forced to, but I never should for a moment have forgot my text—that at all risks of giving offence—*not one Frenchman should be allowed to quit Egypt.*"

Nelson also wrote to the Capitan Pasha: "I cannot help regretting, and with the deepest sorrow, that any such treaty should have been entered into with the French invaders and despoilers of the fairest provinces in the Ottoman empire, more especially as I own I see not how it is possible to fulfil the treaty; for one Ally cannot have the power of getting rid of an enemy's vanquished army, by sending them with arms in their hands to fight against a friend. Could I have been fortunate enough to have been either at the camp of the Grand Vizir, or with your Excellency, it would have been easy to convince you that no Ally could consent to receive 60,000 troops to fight against them. I regret in the extreme that the Foreign Ministers at the Sublime Porte did not make the proper representations of the impossibility of preventing the return of such an army, but as *prisoners of war*, as must be obvious to every capacity. But situated as I am at this moment in the Mediterranean fleet, my station is only to obey the orders of my Commander-in-chief."

Sir Sidney Smith addressed the following to Lord Nelson:—

"Tigre, off Rhodes, 16th June, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"I dispatch the Fanny with a mass of accumulated matter, of information, such as it is, up to the present day, that we

are come to some point in the business. The Turks being driven out of Egypt, as might well be expected, Murad Bey, very glad they are gone, is allowed by the French to enjoy tranquillity and neutrality. Kléber has offered to treat again, being, of course, much more indifferent, at the same time that it is by no means an indifferent thing to the Turks to recover their province by negotiation, since they see they never can recover it by force. The Vizir is, accordingly, very anxious that I should come and give him such advice as shall prevent him falling into any of the traps the French and the Effendi together lay for him to infringe on the Treaty of the Alliance, and throw Turkey under the French influence again. The Capitan Pasha, who is of the original French party, has Buonaparte's spy, Beauchamp, on board his ship with him, intriguing off Alexandria, while Kléber, who is not likely to be Beauchamp's dupe (calling him, as he is, an apostate priest), is endeavouring to treat direct with Constantinople. I have cut up this hitherto; but I feel myself with my hands tied by not being allowed to take decided steps and overrule all these intrigues by speaking plain. I hope I shall have some specific instructions soon. I hear there are some on the way, passing an unmerited censure on me for having acted according to Lord Elgin's '*authorization*' to concert with the Vizir every 'arrangement that might be found eligible for rescuing the Turkish provinces from the French troops, and preventing the latter from gaining time, which appeared to be their object.' The word, unauthorized, cannot therefore be applied to me; besides, imminent danger authorizes a man to do whatever may be practicable to save a question from perdition, as I doubt not, your Lordship will admit, and this, I assure you, my dear Lord, was precisely our case. I hear of the Princess Charlotte on her way; when she arrives, I shall have some more light from your Lordship, as well as from a greater distance; the latter will come certainly with much weight, but it cannot possibly be applicable to present circumstances. The only army in the empire being Djezzar's rebellious one, unless Murad Bey's neutral one may be called so—it is certainly the most efficient if it acts, and I have written to engage the Porte to secure his alliance

by making him feel safe. Ever, my dear Lord, your's faithfully,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Lord Elgin consulted Lord Nelson upon this, and also some other matters, as appears from the following letters, on the backs of which Nelson has written drafts of his replies:—

THE EARL OF ELGIN TO LORD NELSON.

[Private.] "Constantinople, January 15th, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"The extreme pressure of business at this moment induces me to use a confidential hand to copy one of my private letters to your Lordship. In addition to what I have already written, I have still one circumstance (trifling in itself, though attended with some little interest to me), to mention to your Lordship.

"You know what rank the Capitan Pasha holds in this country. He is, in fact, the Grand Vizir by sea. There never was any treaty before the present ones with Turkey, and of course the navigation of the Dardanelles being confined almost to the Turks, the Capitan Pasha exacted and received honours from all vessels which answered to his superior rank. In our Treaty, as in that with Russia, reciprocity is established in all salutes between our ships and Turks, without any difference whatever. In regard to us, I don't believe the Capitan Pasha would hesitate almost in giving more than he receives, if it could be understood as an expression of respect, which he really shews on all occasions to our navy. But he feels cruelly sore, when a little Russian transport insists on the same number of guns from him that it fires, and that within the Dardanelles.

"Now, my dear Lord, could you suggest to me any mode in which I might attempt to procure this gratification from the Russians? The Capitan Pasha's rank has no analogy in any other country, and having married a sister of the late Sultan, he might, by a little stretch, be considered a Prince of the Blood; and that, by making the distinction personal,

and adding that it bore some reference to the present connections between the countries, would, I should conceive, be easier adopted, and considered as a greater favour. This suggestion, I have to entreat your Lordship to consider, as entirely confidential, and for your own private opinion. I have the honour to remain, my dear Lord, most sincerely and respectfully yours,

"ELGIN.

"Could your Lordship furnish me any cypher?"

On the back of this Lord Nelson has sketched the following reply:—

"Lord Keith may be fully equal to suggest some mode of satisfying the Capitan Pasha, but to me it seems very difficult to make the Russians give up any honour which has once been granted them. With us, although there would be no difference in returning a salute between an Admiral with his flag at the main and a sloop of war, yet if a foreign merchant ship should salute without making terms, (but an equality of guns would never be allowed) an equal number of guns would never be returned, nor do I conceive that our country would expect an equal number of guns from the Capitan Pasha to any of our merchant ships. My idea is, do as you would be done by.

"B. N."

LORD ELGIN TO LORD NELSON.

[Private.] "Constantinople, January 15th, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"In addition to my other private letter of this date, I have still a weight upon me which your Lordship may, I think, be very effectual in removing. The Governments of Petersburg and Constantinople are very cordial: nothing really, in my judgment, can behave better than the latter does. But it is not so with their agents; and I am mortified to see that Cadir Bey and the Turks under him, are returned with innumerable complaints against the Russians. Can your Lordship soften this conduct in the latter? Can you convey to the Russians the spirit of our union, and insure more cordiality, and fairness in the behaviour of individuals? It is a task worthy of

your Lordship, and your superiority will enable you, I flatter myself, to effectuate it.

"I perceive a strong alarm arising here from the expectation that Malta is to be put into the hands of the Russians. I respect and obey every decision taken at home, and certainly I should not repine at any advantage given to that nation. But in making this conquest, I trust your Lordship will have in mind the effect which the possession of Malta must inevitably produce on this Government, and that if the cession is ultimately to be made to the Russians, our influence on the occasion may be exerted to calm the apprehensions of the Turks from it, both at present, and as far as possible, in future. I venture to recommend these considerations to your Lordship, as being of the very highest political importance. I have the honour to be, with the most sincere respect, your Lordship's most faithful humble servant,

"ELGIN."

Nelson's reply, sketched on the back of the preceding letter, is as follows:—

"I am aware that all the Turkish naval officers thought that Admiral Ouchakoff did not treat them kindly. Cadir Bey submitted with a better grace than any of the others; but I have seen Ouchakoff strike a Turkish Captain in joke with his cane in such a way that an English officer would have knocked any man of whatever rank down. The situation of Malta, when taken, will be such that it cannot injure the Turks. The order is only to make war on the Barbary powers, but all this is better known to Lord Keith than to

"B. N."

On the 20th of March Lord Nelson desired Sir Thomas Troubridge to send him an account of the money he had expended for the service of the King of Naples, and said that if that Government did not pay him, he would give him an order to draw bills for it.

On the 30th of March Captain Sir Edward Berry fell in with the remaining ship that had escaped at the Battle of the

Nile, Le Guillaume Tell, 84 guns, which, after a very gallant defence, surrendered to Sir Edward, who was slightly wounded in the foot. The French vessel was completely dismasted, and the Foudroyant dreadfully shattered. Captain Manley Dixon forwarded the following detail to Sir Thomas Troubridge :—

"Lion at sea, off Cape Passaro,
"31st March, 1800.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to inform you that yesterday morning at nine o'clock, Cape Passaro, bearing N. ½ E. distant seven leagues, the French ship of war Le Guillaume Tell, of 86 guns, and 1000 men, bearing the flag of Contre Amiral Decrèz, surrendered after a most gallant and obstinate defence of three hours and a half, to his Majesty's ships Foudroyant, Lion, and Penelope.

"To detail the particulars of this very important capture, I have to inform you, that the signal rockets and cannonading from our batteries at Malta the midnight preceding, with the favourable strong southerly gale, together with the darkness which succeeded the setting of the moon, convinced me the enemy's ships of war were attempting to effect an escape, and which was immediately ascertained by that judicious and truly valuable officer Captain Blackwood of the Penelope, who had been stationed a few hours before between the Lion and Valetta, for the purpose of observing closely the motions of the enemy; nearly at midnight an enemy's ship was descried by him, when the Minorca was sent to inform me of it, giving chase himself, apprising me by signal that the strange ships seen were hauled to the wind on the starboard tack. I lost not one moment in making the signal for the squadron to cut or slip, and directed Captain Miller of the Minorca to run down to the Foudroyant and Alexander with the intelligence, and to repeat the signal.

"Under a press of canvass I gave chase until 5 A.M., solely guided by the cannonading of the Penelope, and as a direction to the squadron, a rocket and blue light were shewn every half hour from the Lion. As the day broke, I found myself in gun-shot of the chase, and the Penelope within musket-

shot raking her, by the effects of whose well directed fire during the night were shot away the main and mizen top-masts, and main-yard: the enemy appeared in great confusion, being reduced to his head sails going with the wind on the quarter.

"The Lion was now close alongside, the yard arms of both ships being just clear, when a destructive broadside of three round shot in each gun was poured in, luffing up across the bow, when the enemy's jib boom passed between the main and mizen shrouds. After a short interval I had the pleasure to see the boom carried away, and the ships disentangled, maintaining a position across the bow, firing to great advantage. I was not in the least solicitous either to board or to be boarded, as the enemy appeared of immense bulk, and full of men, keeping up a prodigious fire of musketry, which with the bow chasers, she could for a long time only use: I found it absolutely necessary, if possible, to keep from the broadside of this ship. After being engaged about fifty minutes, the Foudroyant was seen under a press of canvass, and soon passed, hailing the enemy to strike, which being declined, a very heavy fire from both ships, broadside to broadside, was most gallantly maintained, the Lion and Penelope frequently in situations to do great execution; in short, Sir, after the hottest action that probably was ever maintained by an enemy's ship opposed to those of his Majesty's, and being totally dismasted, the French Admiral's flag and colours were struck.

"I have not language to express the high sense of obligation I feel myself under to Captain Blackwood for his prompt and able conduct in leading the line-of-battle ships to the enemy, for the gallantry and spirit so highly conspicuous in him, and for his admirable management of the frigate; to your discriminating judgment it is unnecessary to remark of what real value and importance such an officer must ever be considered to his Majesty's service. The termination of the battle must be attributed to the spirited fire of the Foudroyant, whose Captain, Sir Edward Berry, has justly added another laurel to the many he has gained during the war.

"Captain Blackwood speaks in very high terms of the active and gallant conduct of Captain Long of the Vincejo during

the night, and I beg to mention the services of Captains Broughton and Miller.

"The crippled condition of the Lion and Foudroyant made it necessary for me to direct Captain Blackwood to take possession of the enemy, take him in tow, and proceed to Syracuse. I received the greatest possible assistance from Lieutenant Joseph Patey, senior officer of the Lion, and from Mr. Spencer, the Master, who, together with the other officers and ship's company, shewed the most determined gallantry.

"Captains Sir Edward Berry and Blackwood have reported to me the same gallant and animated behaviour in the officers and crews of their respective ships.

"I am sorry to say that the three ships have suffered much in killed and wounded, and that of the enemy is prodigious, being upwards of 200.

"I refer you to the inclosed reports for further particulars as to the state of his Majesty's ships, and have the honour to remain, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

"MANLEY DIXON.

"To Commodore Sir Thomas Troubridge, Bart.
Commanding his Majesty's ships,
&c. &c. &c.
At the blockade of Malta.

"P.S. The Guillaume Tell is of the largest dimensions, and carries 36-pounders on the lower gun deck, 24-pounders on the main deck, 12-pounders on the quarter deck, and 32-pound carronades on the poop."[1]

In communicating an account of this action to Lord Nelson, Sir Edward Berry says: "I had but one wish this morning—it was for you. And how we prayed for you, God knows, and your sincere and faithful friend, E. BERRY."

Lord Nelson answered nobly: "I am sensible of your kindness in wishing my presence at the finish of the Egyptian fleet, but I have no cause for sorrow. The thing could not be better done, and I would not, for all the world, rob you of

[1] From a letter printed in the Naval Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 508, it appears that in this engagement the Foudroyant expended 162 barrels of powder, 1200 thirty-two-pound shot, 1240 twenty-pound ditto, 100 eighteen-pound ditto, and 200 twelve-pound ditto.

one particle of your well-earned laurels. Thank kindly for me all my brave friends in the Foudroyant; and whatever fate awaits me, my attachment to them will never cease but with my life. I am very anxious to get the official account, and I keep the Perseus to send it off to Lord Keith."[1] He concludes this letter thus: "My task is done, my health is lost, and the orders of the great Earl St. Vincent are completely fulfilled—thanks, ten thousand thanks, to my brave friends!" And in forwarding Sir Edward Berry's letter to the Earl St. Vincent, he says: "I send you Sir Edward Berry's letter, and am sure your Lordship will not be sparing of promotion to the deserving. My friends wished me to be present. I have no such wish; for a something might have been given me, which now cannot. Not for all the world would I rob any man of a sprig of laurel—much less my children of the Foudroyant! I love her as a fond father, a darling child, and glory in her deeds. I am vain enough to feel the effects of my school. Lord Keith sending me nothing, I have not, of course, a free communication. I have wrote to him for permission to return to England, when you will see a broken-hearted man. My spirit cannot submit patiently. My complaint, which is principally a swelling of the heart, is at times alarming to my friends, but not to, my dear Lord, your obliged and faithful

"BRONTÉ NELSON OF THE NILE."[2]

On the 31st of March Governor Ball wrote to Lady Hamilton:—

"My dear Chevaliere,

"Your Ladyship in reality condescends to treat me like a brother, and I declare upon the faith of a Chevalier that I will devote my time to prove myself deserving your confidence. I shall hope to see you soon at Malta; in the mean time I am sure you will not allow our invaluable friend Lord Nelson to fret at not being present at the capture of the last French ship, composing the Egyptian fleet—it would not have added

[1] Autograph in the possession of Lady Berry. Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iv. p. 220.

[2] Letter Book.

to the importance of the achievements he has already gained. I have written to him and to your most estimable Sir William. God protect your Ladyship,

"Ever your devoted and obliged
"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL.

"To her Excellency,
La Chevaliere Hamilton,
&c. &c. &c."

Having thus seen the entire destruction of the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and obeyed the commands he had received for their annihilation, Lord Nelson was anxious to return home and recruit his health, which had been much broken by the fatigue and anxieties he had experienced. He wrote his wishes to Lord Keith, to Lord Minto, the Capitan Pasha, and others, and expressed his satisfaction at the taking or destroying of the whole thirteen sail of the line. He was, however, detained longer than he had expected, and did not reach London until the month of November. The flag of the Guillaume Tell was presented by the Captains to Lord Nelson, who transmitted it to the Lords of the Admiralty as a trophy from the last of the squadron, who fought at the Battle of the Nile.

Rear-Admiral Duckworth wrote the following congratulatory letter:—

"My Lord,

"Much as I lament not having had the honour of hearing from you since November, yet I cannot think of departing for the West Indies without offering your Lordship my warmest congratulations on you and your ship having completed the total destruction of the French fleet of the Nile, and adding my further hope, that all your undertakings may terminate with equal lustre.

"As I am not possessed of your Lordship's sentiments about freight, but am and ever shall be of opinion that it ought to be divided between us as prize-money, I think it just to observe, that during the time your Lordship was in the chief command, I received £288. 8*s* 9*d*, two-thirds of which

I consider as yours, to be balanced against the one-third of what may have been paid to you; I have also received from Captains Hood, Blackwood and Oliver, for some trifling prizes, as in succession: H. £14. 13*s* 3*d*, B. £36. 11*s* 0*d*, O. £9. 7*s* 6*d*, for which I shall always be ready to account, and I have, alas! to call on your Lordship for a bet of fifty guineas respecting the continuation of the war.

"The near connexion Captain Nisbet bears to your Lordship, must ever make me interested that no disgrace should attach itself to him; I therefore felt great concern to find on his arrival, that he and his officers were at daggers drawn; the Surgeon above three months under an arrest, writing for a Court-Martial on his Captain; the First Lieutenant with a string of complaints, which he signified his intention of sending to your Lordship, that must (to say the least of them) quite destroy Captain Nisbet's reputation; though on my honour, I view much of them as invidious, and watching every indiscretion of a young man of his years, when summed up in the aggregate, few of us could bear; and his being in disrepute, has encouraged those around him to take liberties they would not dared to have done with others, which being naturally resented, but with an ill-regulated warmth, has produced this dilemma, to which your Lordship's kind intentions may have a little aided, by authorizing the First Lieutenant to give him advice, which probably, from his youth (for he otherwise seems a very good young man) may have been so dictatorial as for his Captain to spurn it, a kind of pride I cannot condemn entirely, and true it is, there is much of human nature in it. In consequence, from viewing the errors on both sides, I thought public investigation best avoided, and after some labour brought it to a compromise, and all is buried in oblivion, and the Surgeon released; but there cannot be a second opinion as to the necessity of the parties being divided, and if I might suggest, I think (as the state of the ship must cause her to be paid off), a few months with Lady Nelson would *now* correct his foibles.

"Accompanying this you have a list of prizes carried into Lisbon, since Lord St. Vincent left the command. His Lordship coming forward again will gladden your heart, as it doth

mine. God bless you, my dear Lord, and I have the honour to be, with real respect and regard, your Lordship's

"Obliged, faithful and humble servant,

"J. T. DUCKWORTH.

"Leviathan, Gibraltar,
June 17th, 1800."

On the 1st of April, the King of the Two Sicilies founded the Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit, and named as the first three Knights Grand Commander, Lord Nelson, Field Marshal Suwarrow, and the Emperor Paul. It had been originally intended by the King to give the Orders of Knighthood of St. Januarius to Lord Nelson and his Captains Troubridge, Ball, Hood, Louis, and Hallowell; but being Protestants, it was found to be contrary to the regulations of the Order, and a new one was therefore instituted. From a letter by Lord Nelson to Captain Ball, it appears he received one of the Commanderies of the Order, with a present of 1000 ounces. Sir Thomas Troubridge also received a Commanderie, and an annual pension of 1000 ounces. Captains Hood and Hallowell had the Commanderie without any present or pension.

The subjoined note from Lord Grenville to the Prince Castelcicala, Sicilian Minister to the British Court, refers to this Order, and Sir Thomas Troubridge's letter to Sir John Acton, shews acceptance of the same.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE PRINCE CASTELCICALA.

"Lord Grenville presents his compliments to the Prince de Castelcicala, and has the honour to inform him that having laid his note of the 10th of this month before the King, his Majesty has been pleased to signify his pleasure to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson should be allowed to accept and bear the Great Cross of the Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, and that Sir Thomas Troubridge, Bart. should be allowed to accept the rank of Commander in the same Order.

"The King has had great satisfaction in complying with these requests of his Sicilian Majesty, as they evince most

forcibly the sense which his Sicilian Majesty has been pleased to entertain of the services of those two officers.

"Downing Street,
"November 11, 1800."

SIR THOMAS TROUBRIDGE, BART. TO SIR JOHN ACTON, BART.

"Ville de Paris, in Torbay,
13th January, 1801.

"Sir,

"I was duly honoured with your letter and instructions by Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, relating to the Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, which his Sicilian Majesty has done me the honour to confer upon me. I should not have lost a moment in returning my grateful acknowledgments to his Majesty, but I was at a loss to learn (though I made application) if my own Sovereign would admit of my accepting the honour, those from the Emperor of Russia having been refused. I now learn from Sir Isaac Heard, Principal Garter King of Arms, that the King has directed a warrant to be made out, and recorded in the Herald's Office, to enable me to accept his Sicilian Majesty's gracious offer. I beg you, Sir, to lay before his Majesty the grateful sense I entertain of this mark of his royal favour, as well as for the pension he has been pleased to bestow on me of £500. per annum, as signified by Lord Nelson and Sir William Hamilton. I feel I owe much to you, Sir, for the liberal support I received, when employed on his Sicilian Majesty's service, and I beg to assure you, I shall ever retain a grateful sense of it. I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

"Your much obliged and most obedient servant,

"T. TROUBRIDGE.

"Sir John Acton, Bart.
Captain General, &c. &c. &c.
Palermo."

The Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit was extended in 1810 by the addition of a third to the previous classes of Great Cross and Commander, being that of a smaller cross of the Order, and medals also in gold and silver for non-commissioned officers, to which pensions were attached. This

was communicated by the Marquis di Circello to General Stuart, Commander-in-chief of the British army in Sicily; and also the Naval Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.

In April, Lord Nelson received reports that the Spanish ships of war in the port of Palermo were preparing to put to sea. He had rigidly observed the neutrality of the port; feeling, however, that the Spanish vessels ought not to be permitted to go to sea, probably to continue in offensive operations with the French against Great Britain, and perhaps the Two Sicilies, he apprized Sir William Hamilton that if their preparations were persisted in, he should feel it his duty to attack them, even in the port of Palermo, an event he hoped to avoid. He gave notice to the Commanding officer at Mahon, to look out for the ships, as he understood they were to take their route along the Barbary coast as far as Algiers. These ships, however, effected their escape.

Nelson was anxious to return to Malta, and much delighted to find the Foudroyant sufficiently repaired to take him. Captain Dixon wrote to Lord Nelson on the 9th of April, as follows:—

"Lion, at Syracuse, April 9, 1800.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to inform you of the ready condition of the Lion to proceed on service, and that I shall sail this evening, if the wind permits, with two transports full of French prisoners, for Malta. I inclose your Lordship a list of them as correct as I can procure.

"The Foudroyant, which your Lordship will hear from Sir Edward Berry, is almost ready to proceed where you may direct, and in tolerable state, considering the bad wounds in the lower masts. Guillaume Tell will be ready in four or five days.

"I have taken upon me to appoint Lieutenant Inglis of the Penelope to command her: likewise the Boatswain and Carpenter, and the Master of Bonne Citoyenne is removed into her. I hope your Lordship will approve of this; they are careful and good officers, and the state of the prize requires such.

"We have many stories as to what has been stowed in prizes in Valetta; the French Admiral allowed there was money in her, when he found she was entering in safety into this port, and a Neapolitan says, he was at the stowing away a number of brass cannon in the hold, and that in some, *money was stowed.* As for the cannon I believe him, but not a syllable of the latter.

"Our wounded in the two ships are doing very well. I visited the hospital where the French are, yesterday, and had the pleasure to find the French officers and surgeon fully satisfied with their treatment, indeed I never saw a better hospital.

"I condole with your Lordship most sensibly on the melancholy fate which has attended the Charlotte.[1]

"I beg my best respects and compliments to Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and the good mother, and have the honour to remain with the highest esteem and respect,

"Your Lordship's

"Most obedient and humble servant,

"MANLEY DIXON."

Nelson sailed in the Foudroyant from Palermo on the 24th of April, and reached Syracuse on the 30th. He sailed again on the 3rd of May, and the next day anchored in St. Paul's bay, Malta. Sir William Hamilton had been superseded and succeeded in his post as Minister at Naples by the Hon. Arthur Paget, and Sir William and Lady Hamilton accompanied Lord Nelson in the Foudroyant. Governor Ball wrote to her Ladyship the following:—

"19th May, 1800.

"I congratulate you, my dear sister, on escaping all the miseries of sea-sickness by remaining at anchor to-day. Our dear and inestimable Lord has been harassed and fatigued

[1] This fine vessel of 110 guns, was destroyed by fire, March 17, 1800. She carried the flag of Lord Keith, and was dispatched by his Lordship to reconnoitre the island of Cabrera, about 30 miles from Leghorn. The guns were shotted at the time, and by their continual discharge, prevented boats approaching the ship to render assistance. Lord Keith was fortunately on shore at the time it occurred. The loss of life on the occasion was awfully great.

with anxiety. I am most thoroughly convinced that his Lordship's spasm is brought on by anxiety of mind, I therefore rejoice at your being on board, as I am sure you will exert your powers to keep up his spirits, and the worthy Sir William will contribute much to it.

"I have sent his Lordship intelligence of 5000 troops being expected here hourly; it may induce him to stay a few days longer. Whether or not, you have my ardent wish for prosperous gales and every blessing in this life. My very best respects to Sir William and the ladies, and believe me with every grateful sentiment, my dear sister, your affectionate and obliged,

"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL.

"To the Right Hon. Lady Hamilton,
Dame Chevaliere of the Order of
St. John of Jerusalem."

"Malta, 26th May, 1800.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"I desired Tyson to assure you that I should have written a note to you to accompany the letter to my wife, but I had not time. She will be much gratified in having an occasion of personally expressing to you and Sir William how often I have spoken of your goodness and friendship to me. I must give you a little description of her: she has a strong mind, great discernment and good judgment, with an excellent disposition. She is neither young nor handsome, but well made, and what flatters me much is, the idea that she is now more attached to me than the day of her marriage, fifteen years ago. She has likewise presented me with an uncommonly fine boy, affectionate and good. Next to my [heart] comes our dear Bronté Nelson; you and worthy Sir William will I hope, keep up his spirits, and not let him fatigue himself on deck. I sincerely hope your journey will be attended with every possible advantage and satisfaction to you. God bless and protect you both. My very best respects to Sir William, Mrs. Cadogan, Mrs. Graeffer, and Miss Knight, and believe me ever, my dear Lady,

"Your very obliged brother Chevalier,

"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL."

The following letters were addressed to Lady Hamilton by the Queen of Naples at this time :—

"My dear Lady,

"I was charmed with your attention in writing to me. The sight of the Foudroyant gave me pain, although I have every reason to hope that it will be but for a few days before we take a sail together, which idea rejoices me, although it will not be without some misgivings that I shall quit my house and family; but it is necessary. Adieu, my dear, dear Emma and good lady; preserve your attachment for me, and believe me for life your sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, and to our dear hero. With what delight I shall see you all to-morrow."

"My dear Lady,

"My women will go with the rest of our numerous baggage on board to-day at four o'clock, with your permission, to arrange things. The plate and jewels will go on Monday morning. I am penetrated with your kindness, but fear I abuse it. Let me know the exact hour to go on board on Monday, and rely on my eternal gratitude."

"My dear Lady,

"Here are all the jewels of an unfortunate family. A packet of our personal things, a little plate, and a box with the linen and clothes; in case of need I will send others on board to-morrow for my children; there are twelve persons in family, which is a great many. I should wish for a moment to-morrow to speak to you. A thousand compliments to our liberator. Adieu. Believe that nothing shall ever change our principles, and that if the country is base, we shall be ever honest and true. Say so to our friend, liberator, and saviour, Nelson, and believe me your sincere and grateful friend for life."

"My dear Lady,

"Here is the packet for the frigate, for which I thank you infinitely, and for every thing you do for me. I am very

grieved; to such hearts as ours separation is a trial. I have sent my valuables: to-morrow I will send on board the Foudroyant what will be required for the voyage by sea and land, with two of our women. Pardon these annoyances. Castelcicala and a servant will come with us; Luigi will sleep above with Leopold, and Castelcicala below. His wife and child will go, if you permit it, on board the other vessel. Pardon so many wants, but I address my friend, my dear Emma, and I shall be delighted to pass some days with you to prove to you my constant and lasting friendship and gratitude.

"A thousand compliments to my hero, and to your husband; a thousand thanks to all three. Adieu."

The distress of the Royal family at the prospect of losing Sir William Hamilton, was very great. The Queen writes thus:—

TO LADY HAMILTON.

"March 1, 1800.

"My dear Lady,

"I have been compelled by a painful affair to delay my reply, and I write this, my dear friend, in great pain, which I have had ever since I received your last letters. Do you remember that on Tuesday evening I asked you if you had received any letters, you told me no—my eyes filling with tears, I was obliged to leave you. I wrote you that I was dreadfully depressed, and inquired if you had any letters, but hearing that you knew nothing, I hoped (as I still hope), that the news might be false. I send you the substance of my letter from Circello, the official one seems to me to contain no more, but as this fatal packet from Paget appears to hinge upon our not being left here without a Minister during the absence of your husband, I think that it may yet be remedied. I am in despair. I am excessively angry with Circello for not having more strongly opposed it, and if you, my good, honest, true friends, quit us, let them leave Keith in the Mediterranean. We begin by losing you, our good friends, then our hero Nelson, and finally, the friendship and

alliance of England, for a young man, liable to misbehave himself through the temptations of wrong-headed men, who will induce him to abuse his power, will not be tolerated, and troubles will arise from it. I grieve to cause you uneasiness, my own is concealed but bitterly felt. I send you, my good friend Emma, the original letter from Circello, do not let Campbell see it, or know that you have seen it, and have the kindness to send it back to me to-morrow morning that I may reply to it. Suggest to me what should be done to prevent this misfortune, as I regard it such, both for the State, and for my feelings. A courier will leave for Vienna on Monday evening, or Tuesday at noon, who could take letters for Lord Minto. I will do whatever you counsel me. Adieu, my dear friend, my dear Emma, do not afflict yourself. Tell the Chevalier I have never felt until now how much I am attached to him, how much I owe him, my eyes swim with tears, and I must finish in begging you to suggest to me what to do, and believe that all my life, happy or miserable, wherever it may be, I shall be always your sincere, attached, tender, grateful, devoted, sorrowful friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, if he will suggest what I could do, I am ready, whatever it may be."

TO THE SAME.

"My dear Lady,

"Your letters penetrate my heart, and afflict me extremely. I am almost dead with grief. I am constantly thinking that if the Chevalier were to renounce the idea of going to England, so as not to quit us in this difficult moment, and that instead, the King were to write, this storm might yet pass over. I should very much wish that in the course of to-morrow your health would allow of your coming to me without inconvenience, with the Chevalier, or without him, as you think best, to consider what is yet to be done. Adieu, my dear Lady, my tender friend, my much beloved Emma, and believe me, till death, your attached and sincere friend."

TO THE SAME.

"My dear Lady,

"I received last night your obliging letter, and the letters. I shall take care that justice shall be done for the unfortunate Duchess of Sorrentina, and her painful position alleviated: to diminish the sufferings and remove the griefs of others, is, alas, the only satisfaction I can experience. At your departure yesterday, a scene occurred, violent outcries demanding your death, that you should be thrown out of window, and calling upon your husband with complaints that you had treated them contemptuously. It was very violent, and doubtless your husband will receive complaints, which I forewarn you of, that you may act accordingly. I am extremely low, having so many troubles, and but two things to choose from, to go away, or die of grief, a most painful termination; and if you depart in the spring, my dear friend, and leave me in this condition, be assured that even if your friendship should induce you to return in November, your friend would not be alive. Tell me what news you have of our dear virtuous hero. Noble has communicated to Caparo[1] a letter from Mahon, of the 14th of February, not very encouraging. The abominable Paget is at Vienna; finally, all this afflicts and distresses me, but, until death, I remain your constant and grateful friend."

TO THE SAME.

"My dear friend,

"I much wish to know how you are in mind, body, and estate, in which I feel so sincerely and tenderly interested. The inevitable (fatal) Paget arrived at Naples on the 20th of this month, as I am informed by letters, and he expects a boat to come by sea; the Court knows nothing about it. Cardinal Chiaromonte was elected Pope on the 14th,[2] which I hope will cause no dissatisfaction at Rome, but tend to establish order and religion, both so necessary. Adieu, my dear friend, your unhappy and constant friend for life. A thou-

[1] Prince Caparo, Secretary of State, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the kingdom in the room of Cardinal Ruffo, who aspired to the Papacy, and had left Naples for Venice.

[2] March 14, 1800, and took the title of Pius VII.

sand compliments to my hero and to the Chevalier. Your true sincere friend to the grave."

TO THE SAME.

"My dear Lady,

"How is your precious health and welfare, which interest me so greatly;—all that I see and hear makes me sorrowful. My daughter Louisa has, in a few hours, lost her son at six years of age, which deeply grieves her, and that is but natural, but I envy the happy child, removed from this base world. Of affairs, I know nothing but intrigue, cabals, tricks; it appears that war is decided upon, and my daughter writes most urgently for me to go and see her. Adieu, my dear Lady, what is that Paget doing, he keeps a long time incognito. I wish he had never come. Adieu, my dearest Emma, my good friend, continue your attachment to me, and believe in mine, which will terminate only with life.

"My compliments to our hero Nelson, and to the Chevalier."

On the 20th May, Lord Nelson quitted Malta for Palermo, where he arrived only on the 31st, having promised to carry the Queen to Leghorn. The state of the Foudroyant was such as scarcely to admit of her being properly refitted but in England, and Nelson wished to be permitted to take her thither. He sailed for Leghorn on the 9th of June, having on board the Queen, her three daughters, and the Prince Leopold, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, Prince Castelcicala, Miss Knight, and a great number of attendants, and arrived on the 14th; Nelson was exceedingly ill on the voyage. The following interesting letter was addressed to him on the day of their arrival:—

"My dear and respectable Lord Nelson. To the numerous obligations which all Europe, and we particularly, have to you, is to be added our gratitude for the care that you have taken to transport me and my dear children from Palermo to Leghorn. We return you our most sincere thanks, and pray you may be quite sure that all you have done for us will be truly engraved in our heart. Nothing I desire more than to have frequent occasions to prove you our feelings, our everlasting

My dear and respectable Lord Nelson To the numerous obligations, wich all Europa and we particularly have to you is to be added our gratitude for the care that you have taken to transport me and my dear children from Palermo to Leghorn. We return you our most sincere thanks and pray you may be quite sure, that all you have done for us will be truly ingraved in our heart. Nothing I desire more that to have frequent occassions to prouve you our feelings, our ever lasting gratitude, and the great regard with wich we are and will be till the Last moment of our Life my respectable Lord Nelson

Your very affectionate
Charlotte
Leopold
Cristina
Amalia
Antoinette

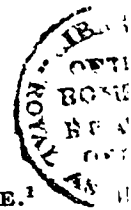
Of Leghorn 14 June
1800 -

I. Crofton Croker, lithog.

gratitude, and the great regard with which we are, and will be till the last moment of our life, my respectable Lord Nelson,

"Your very affectionate,

"CHARLOTTE.
"LEOPOLD.
"CRISTINA.
"AMELIA.
"ANTOINETTE.[1]



"Off Leghorn, 14th June, 1800."

On the 4th of this month, being the birthday of his Majesty George III. the following interesting letters in English, were addressed to Lady Hamilton by the Royal family of Naples :—

A MADAME, MADAME LE MILADY HAMILTON.

"My very dear, my Lady,

"Receive my very sincere vows, which I unite to those of your great and brave nation, for the glory, prosperity, and preservation of your good King. That Providence may preserve him from all misfortunes, and increase his glory and power. Over and above the sentiment of admiration and inclination which has always attached me to your Soverain and great nation, that of the most extensive, profound, and true gratitude is added to it; these united sentiments cause in me an impression which I am not able to express, but which I feel. May Heaven hearken to my vows. With all that friendship which you have for me, please to take upon yourself to be interpreter for me and my dear family to those of your nation on this solemn day, and believe me, with my dear family, and for life,

"Your sincere and grateful friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

"To Sir William many compliments from me; it is he who has nourished this happy union and friendship, for which I shall be eternally grateful. To our brave and virtuous Lord Nelson, and to all the heroes of the Nile, my compli-

[1] See fac-simile.

ments also. Please my dear my Lady, receive my compliments on the birthday of your King, and be persuaded that I form the most sincere vows for his glory, happiness, and preservation. I am bound (more than ever, after all he has done for us) to be profoundly attached to him and to all the nation; assure them, I beg of you, of my sentiments, and be sure that my gratitude will be eternal. I am greatly obliged to you and to my Lord, who have known how to maintain this union, and have given it so many proofs of your friendship. I don't mention all that we owe to our brave Admiral Nelson—it would be too long, but assure him that I have for him a profound esteem and gratitude. Accept, pray, the assurances of that with which I am for life,

"FRANCIS DE BOURBON."

"I am charmed, my dear my Lady, that I am able to add some words to Mamma's letters, to assure you of my most sincere vows for the happiness and preservation of your good King; the attachment I have formed for him, and the gratitude we owe to him, will last for ever. It is a sentiment too deeply impressed in my heart to be liable to any alterations. Please to be persuaded of it, and to assure of it all your nation that I infinitely esteem, and you in particular, as equally my Lord and brave Admiral Nelson. Believe me, that I am infinitely penetrated of all the friendship you have for us, and of all the proofs you have given us on all occasions, and be persuaded of mine, with which I am,

"Your grateful friend,

"MARY CLEMENTINA."

"I wish the King long life, and infinite prosperity to him and to the friendly nation. I hope the day will come, when I may be able to associate to their triumphs.

"LEOPOLD."

"I am very glad, my dearest my Lady, to be able to express to you in your proper language, my sentiments of

eternal gratitude for your noble King and valorous nation, and you may be sure that I wish you always happy and victorious.

"MARIA CHRISTINA."

"My dearest my Lady. Having the pleasure to know the English tongue, with it I tell you that I unite with all my heart my vows to those of my dearest parents, and I wish for your generous King and your brave nation all happiness, being sure that a part of ours depends from yours.

"MARIA AMELIA."

"My dear my Lady,

"Surely my vows and my wishes for your King, and for your brave nation are not unequal to those of our dearest parents. I heartily wish for your and for our happiness, to hear always of the happy successes of the faithful and brave English.

"MARIE ANTOINETTE."

Although Lord Nelson arrived in the Foudroyant on the night of the 14th, the state of the weather was such as to prevent a landing until the 16th, and Nelson's health at this time was so bad that he writes Lord Spencer, he is confined to his bed four days out of the seven.

On the 18th of June, Lord Nelson received the orders of Lord Keith, acquainting him that the Imperial and French armies had entered into a capitulation by which the Genoese territories were to be evacuated, and Lord Nelson was directed to proceed with all the ships at Leghorn to the Gulf of St. Especia, to obtain possession of St. Maria, and other garrisons in the bay, and on their evacuation by the Austrians to bring off or destroy all the guns. This order, Lord Keith stated, was not "a matter of caprice, but of actual duty and necessity," and he added, "I must desire to be final." On the next day, distracted with the state of affairs, the numerous and important services to be carried out, and the want of ships, Lord Keith directed that no line-of-battle ships should be employed to take back the Queen to Palermo, if she deter-

mined upon not proceeding to Vienna, and authorised Nelson to strike his flag and proceed to England either by land, or in the Princess Charlotte, or in the troop ship at Mahon, or the Seahorse which was expected with Sir Richard Bickerton.[1] Lord Keith urged that the Queen should go to Vienna as

[1] Sir Richard Hussey Bickerton, Bart. was the son of a distinguished Naval officer, Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, whose patent of Baronetcy dates May 19, 1778. He represented Rochester in Parliament, and died of an apoplectic fit, Feb. 28, 1792. The subject of the present notice was born October 11, 1759, and first served as a Midshipman on board the Marlborough, 74 guns, commanded by his father in 1771, whence he was removed in October, 1773, to the Princess Augusta yacht, and afterwards into the Medway, 60 guns, the flag-ship of Vice-Admiral Man, then Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. Here he remained until 1776, when he was sent to Sir Thomas Rich of the Enterprise frigate, 28 guns, and afterwards joined Captain Hyde Parker in the Invincible, 74 guns, and with him returned to England in 1777. He was now made a Lieutenant, and appointed to the Prince George, whence he removed to the Jupiter, commanded by Captain Middleton, afterwards Sir Charles Middleton, Bart. and then Lord Barham, and First Lord of the Admiralty. In company with the Medea frigate the Jupiter fell in with the Triton, and was engaged in a smart action, in which Sir Richard Bickerton gained much approbation, and was made a Master and Commander, and in 1779 appointed to the Swallow sloop in the Channel service, in which he captured a large American privateer, the Black Prince. In this vessel he was present at the taking of St. Eustatia in 1781. He was now posted into the Gibraltar of 80 guns, and engaged with Lord Hood against the Count de Grasse. He served in the Russel, and in the Terrible, and in 1782 in the Amazon, which was paid off in that year. In 1787 he was again in the West Indies, and brought home the West India fleet in 1790. Succeeding to the Baronetcy in 1792, he was upon the commencement of the war in 1793 appointed to the Ruby, 64 guns, and afterwards to the Ramillies, and then joined Lord Howe's squadron. After various minor services he was promoted in 1799 to be a Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and made second in command at Portsmouth. In this year also he was appointed to the Swiftsure, and had the command of a detached squadron under Lord Keith. He was employed in the blockade of Cadiz for five months. He was then engaged on the blockade of Alexandria, and superintended the embarkation of the French army upon the surrender of that place. He received the thanks of Parliament, and the Capitan Pasha invested him with the insignia of the Order of the Crescent for this service. In 1804 Sir Richard Bickerton was made Rear-Admiral of the Red, and hoisted his flag as second in command in the Mediterranean on board the Royal Sovereign. He had the command in this station whilst Nelson was gone in pursuit of the combined fleets. He returned to England from ill health in 1805, and was engaged from 1807 to 1812 as one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and he then succeeded Sir Roger Curtis as Commander-in-chief at Portsmouth. He was made a Vice-Admiral, November 9, 1805, and full Admiral, July 31, 1810. He received also the Order of Knight Commander of the Bath in 1815, and succeeded Sir Richard Onslow as Lieutenant-General of the Marines, Jan. 5, 1818. He died Admiral of the Red, in February, 1832.

speedily as possible. Lord Nelson sent off Captain Downman[1] in the Dorothea with the Commander-in-chief's instructions, and also the Alexander to the Gulf of Especia. In the midst of all this confusion Nelson addressed the following letter to his Holiness the Pope:—

"Leghorn, June 24th, 1800.

"Holy Father,

"As an individual, who, from his public situation has had an opportunity of using his utmost exertions to assist in bringing about the happy event of your Holiness's return to Rome, I presume to offer my most sincere congratulations on

[1] Captain Hugh Downman was a native of Devonshire, and born at Plymouth about 1765. He entered the Navy as a Midshipman on board the Thetis in October 1776, and joining the Arethusa in pursuit of the enemy off Ushant was unfortunately wrecked. He remained a prisoner in France from March 1779 to January 1780, when he was exchanged, and afterwards served in the Emerald and the Edgar, in the former with Captain Samuel Marshall, and in the latter with the broad pendant of Commodore Hotham. He was engaged in the encounter with the enemy off Gibraltar. In 1789 he sailed with Commodore Cornwallis to the East Indies, and was made Lieutenant in 1790. In 1793 he was appointed to the Alcide, 74 guns, and was present at the attack upon the tower and redoubt of Formelli under Commodore Linzee, who upon being made Rear-Admiral, named Downman as his Second Lieutenant on board the Windsor Castle, 98 guns. He returned to England in the Victory with Lord Hood. In the battle off Cape St. Vincent, in Feb. 1797, Lieutenant Downman was in the Victory, and afterwards made Commander of the Speedy brig of 14 guns. He succeeded in taking and destroying several privateers, and acquired great credit in a gallant action with a brig of very superior force. The British Factory at Oporto presented him with a piece of plate of the value of £50. and he was appointed to the Santa Dorothea frigate in 1798. He took several prizes, and was then ordered to the blockade of Savona, and the fortress at length capitulated. He afterwards destroyed the fortifications in the Gulf of Spezzia, and preserved the Gallery of Florence from falling into the hands of the French, by receiving it on board his ship, in which he conveyed the treasure to Sicily. The Grand Duke of Tuscany acknowledged the importance of this service, and presented him with a diamond ring. Victor Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, and the Duchess were also taken to Sicily by Captain Downman, and made suitable presents for his attention to them. In 1801 he was in Egypt, and received the Turkish Order of the Crescent for his exertions, after which he was removed into the Cæsar, 84 guns, with Sir James Saumarez, Bart., and in the following year paid off. Sir James, in 1804, again selected him for his Captain on the Guernsey station, where he commanded in the Diomede for fourteen months. He was afterwards at the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope with Sir Home Popham, and returned to England with the dispatches. He was then sent to the Rio de la Plata, was at the capture of Monte Video, and in 1807 put out of commission. He is now living, and an Admiral of the Blue.

this occasion; and with my most fervent wishes and prayers that your residence may be blessed with health and every comfort this world can afford.

"Your Holiness will, I am sure, forgive my mentioning a circumstance, which, although at the time it was spoken appeared impossible, yet the fact did happen. Father M'Cormick, a friar, coming to the house of Sir William Hamilton, in September, 1798, to congratulate me on the Battle of the Nile, said, (as can be testified,) 'What you have done is great, but you will do a greater thing—you will take Rome with your ships.' And although I do not believe that the father had the gift of prophecy, yet his guess was so extraordinary, and has turned out so exactly, that I could not in my conscience avoid telling your Holiness of it. I will now only trespass on your time, by assuring your Holiness with what respect I am your most obedient servant,

"BRONTÉ NELSON OF THE NILE."[1]

When it was ascertained that the Foudroyant was not to proceed with Nelson to England, but to go to Minorca to refit, the barge's crew manifested their deep attachment to him, by offering themselves to go as his boat's crew, in any ship or vessel, or in any way that might be pleasing to him. He was truly beloved by all under his command.

On the 11th of July he struck his flag, and proceeded to Vienna on his way to England.

Upon the arrival of Lord Nelson with the Queen, Prince, Princesses, &c. on the 16th of June, the Governor of Leghorn first conducted them to the cathedral, and afterwards to the palace, where the Royal family took up their residence. Lord Nelson, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, &c. were accommodated at the British Consul's. On landing, the Queen presented to Nelson a rich picture of the King, on the back of which were her own initials in diamonds, inclosed with branches of oak and laurels intertwining each other, composed of diamonds and emeralds. Sir William Hamilton received a gold snuff-box, with a picture of the King and Queen, in diamonds; and Lady Hamilton, a diamond neck-

[1] Printed from an autograph draft in the Nelson Papers; Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iv. p. 259.

lace, with cyphers of all the children's names, ornamented by their respective hair.

TO LADY HAMILTON.

"Leghorn, June 17th, 1800.

"My dear Lady,

"Allow me to inquire after your health, and that of our respected and dear Admiral, and your husband. I should like to see you every day to dine with me: bring also Miss Knight some day, and the Captains commanding, as our dear Admiral may please, ours of the brave Foudroyant among the first. I wished to present you with some slight marks of my gratitude when we separated. I felt I should like to see you in a necklace, combining the names of my four children, with their mother's, in the expression of gratitude equally felt by all, and which will only cease with life. I shall send you the trifling remembrances shortly; hoping to see you again very soon, and to express by word of mouth that I am your ever grateful friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

Writing to Sir John Acton, Nelson says, "I only wish for opportunities of proving to their Majesties my desire to shew my gratitude for the numerous favours, honours, and magnificent presents, they have heaped upon me."

The Queen of Naples makes reference to Lord Nelson's possession of the Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit, in the following letter to Lady Hamilton:—

"My dear Lady,

"How is your health? Have you recovered from the fatigue you have undergone. I have learnt with pleasure that the new order decorates our hero; never were fidelity or merit so proved: others may try to equal them, but never can they be surpassed, for what he has done for the public service and for us is infinite. I sent yesterday Ferari on board, and all you have had the kindness to say and do for us I am acquainted with. To-morrow, Tuesday, if you will allow us, we will send all our boxes and baggage to the Alexander, and will send a man with them. On Thursday morning all will go on board the Foudroyant, and if they lift anchor

sooner we will go aboard the vessel, which has already raised her anchor at 8 o'clock; if not, and they think it better not to lose the favourable wind, we will go sooner. I am filled with gratitude for all your marks of friendship. Adieu. A thousand compliments to our hero, to Sir William, and believe me through life, with the sincerest affection, your constant friend. On board we shall be always together I hope."

When they had been about a month at Leghorn, an insurrection of the people occurred, their exasperation against the French, whose army was now only twenty-four miles distant, being very great. The populace appeared determined to secure the persons of the Queen and Royal Family, and to detain Nelson also, that he might lead them against their enemies. With much difficulty, Sir William, and Lady Hamilton, and Lord Nelson, could make their way to the palace, where, from a balcony, Lady Hamilton, being able to speak in Italian, addressed the assembled multitude. According to an account in Harrison's Life of Nelson,[1] her Ladyship began by remonstrating with them on the impropriety of thus violently surrounding an amiable and illustrious Queen, and her Royal offspring, whose powerful and sovereign protector was in a distant country, with weapons of war in their hands; and positively declared, that Lord Nelson would not hold the smallest communication with them, unless every man demonstrated the rectitude of his intentions by immediately returning his arms to the public arsenal. This was acquiesced in, and the Queen and Royal family took advantage of the opportunity thus created to get on board the Alexander, in which ship, after the departure of the Foudroyant, Nelson's flag had been hoisted. The next day her Majesty landed, and then set off for Florence and Ancona, from which place Nelson wrote a letter to Sir John Acton, as appears from the following reply:—

"Palermo, October 15th, 1800.

"My dear Sir,

"I return you my best thanks for your kind letter of the 22nd, from Ancona, and the news of our most excellent

[1] Vol. ii. p. 248.

Queen. I see, praises to God, that her Majesty is safe at last, after so many most disagreeable incidents, and of the worst kind. Thank God she is gone from that most horrid place of Italy, and surely arrived at Trieste, most likely in Vienna since a week, according to our wishes and reckoning. I hope, my Lord, that you are not the worse for this troublesome and painful journey.

"What your Lordship is pleased to tell me of the behaviour of the French, in the confines between the Cisalpine and Roman states, agrees with the general and perseverated manner of betraying everywhere as their interest directs them. A new convention is entered on between the Austrians and French Generals in Italy, with the date of the 31st of July. By this a line is settled of a demarcation from a post between Fano and Passaro, in the sea coast, to the Apennines by St. Marino and thence straight to the frontiers of Tuscany. This line is not to be passed by any corps of the two armies. The fortress of St. Leo and Urbino are to be guarded by the Austrians, for the security of the line, and their communication with Tuscany. The Pope's states, and the kingdom of Naples, seems to be secured from an invasion during the present armistice; but we are in this likewise to depend on French faith.

"I hope to hear soon your happy arrival at Vienna. I beg Sir William and Lady Hamilton to accept here the assurance of my best wishes and cordial compliments.

"I have the honour to be,

"&c. &c.

"J. Acton."

Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and Miss Knight, accompanied Lord Nelson on the following day, the 17th of July. On the road every where, Lord Nelson was received in the most distinguished manner. Also at Florence, Ancona, and at Trieste, whither they had proceeded in two Russian frigates. They then departed for Vienna, accompanied by the British Vice-Consul, Mr. Anderson. Arrived at Vienna, the British Ambassador, Lord Minto, publicly presented Lord Nelson and Sir William Hamilton to their Imperial Majesties,

and Lady Hamilton was presented by Lady Minto. Mr. Oliver, an English linguist, well acquainted with the German language, and long known to Sir William Hamilton, was engaged to accompany Lord Nelson, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, on their journey to England. The course was quite triumphal; every where rejoicings took place; the theatres were obliged to be visited, and the excitement proved as detrimental to Sir William's health as it was beneficial in recruiting that of Lord Nelson. The flattering, not to say enthusiastic, manner in which he was every where received; the high personal regard bestowed upon him by all classes, high and low, could not but exhilarate his spirits, and thus cheering his mind, give tone to his body. The change of climate also invigorated him, and the absence of care, in his profession, all contributed to his improvement, which indeed was effected to such a degree, that upon his arrival in England his health might fairly be said to be perfectly re-established.

It would occupy too much space to detail the receptions he met with in his progress, but it may briefly be stated, that the Prince and Princess Esterhazy entertained him for four days in a style of royal splendour, at the palace of Eisenstadt, where 100 grenadiers, not one of whom was below six feet in height, constantly waited at table. Sumptuous dinners, and other entertainments, concerts, balls, &c. evinced the attention paid by the Prince and Princess Esterhazy, to their distinguished guests. At one of the concerts Haydn[1] directed, and it is said that the performance of his immortal oratorio, the Creation, was executed on the occasion. The Archduke Albert also entertained them in a most splendid manner. Count Bathyany gave an aquatic fête on the Danube, within a mile of Vienna, in honour of Nelson, and experiments upon vessels, constructed by the Count for opposing the strength of the torrent of that river, were made on the occasion. The benevolent Jew, Arnstein, banker at Vienna, vied with the Royal and noble persons in their reception of Nelson; and the Queen of Naples insisted upon paying all expenses incurred by him and his companions during their stay at Vienna, which was, at the request of Her Majesty, prolonged to as long time as possible.

[1] Haydn was Maestro di Capella to Prince Esterhazy, from 1761 to his decease in 1809. The Creation was composed in his 65th year, and produced in 1798.

The following was written to Lady Hamilton at this time:—

"My dear, dear Lady, ever shall I be the same to you. I shall go to-morrow into the city for you about three o'clock. If you will come to my apartments we shall be alone. If that time should be inconvenient to you, come on Thursday morning to Schonbrun, or on Wednesday for the day. I shall have so much to say to you, and to our friend Nelson. I see clouds lowering, and fear approaching events. I am prepared for all. On Saturday I go to Baden, and hoped to have seen you there, but your letter disappoints me. Your departure afflicts me. It is not easy to replace such friends as you; but I must hope to see you again at Naples. Adieu. Your sincere and grateful friend till death.

"A thousand compliments to the Chevalier, and to the hero—to you every thing."

Upon their departure, the Queen offered to Lady Hamilton an annuity of £1000. *per annum*, which, however, Sir William would not allow her to accept. Arriving at Prague, similar honours to those already received awaited the hero. The Archduke Charles, nephew to the Queen of Naples, had written to his Aunt, and solicited a visit from his Lordship on his way to Dresden, and the interview between these distinguished warriors was highly satisfactory. A grand entertainment was given, verses were composed on the occasion, and the city was illuminated. To avoid the dangerous passes, and rough roads of Peterswald, Lord Nelson adopted a circuitous route, made a very agreeable fresh-water voyage, and in two days reached Dresden, where Mr. Elliot was British Minister. Prince Xavier, the brother of the Elector of Saxony, here visited Nelson. The celebrated Dresden Gallery was thrown open for his inspection, and his friends, and they remained eight days in the city, admiring its costly beauties, and receiving entertainments at the Court; and when they took their departure, gondolas magnificently fitted up were in readiness to convey them to Hamburgh. The shores were lined with multitudes to catch a glimpse of the distinguished travellers. They landed at Magdeburgh, where the King of Prussia had

ordered a guard of honour to receive them. At Hamburgh like honours awaited them, and all bodies appeared to vie with each other in the splendour of their entertainments. The English merchants invited Lord Nelson and his friends to a grand fête, at which he lost one of the large diamonds from the hilt of the sword given to him by the King of Naples. It could not be recovered, and the merchants were desirous of replacing it by another at the expense of £800., but Nelson would not accept a gift on such an occasion. Many anecdotes, illustrative of personal respect and admiration, have been related as proceeding from persons in private life at Hamburgh, which do like honour to those by whom they were offered, and to him to whom they were presented. It was here that Lord Nelson formed acquaintance with the celebrated General Dumouriez, almost the only Frenchman for whom he entertained an esteem, so great was his prejudice against that nation, arising from the horror with which he contemplated the events which had attended the French Revolution.

On the 6th of November he reached Yarmouth. The weather was stormy, and some difficulty experienced in landing, the pilot fearing to make the attempt, and was only induced to undertake it by a glass of spirits, and the determination of Nelson. He had no sooner entered the carriage waiting on the beach to receive him and his friends, than the horses were taken from it, and he was dragged to the Wrestlers Inn. Every distinction was paid to Lord Nelson by the Admiral Dickson; the flags were hoisted on all the ships in the harbour, and the Mayor and Corporation waited on him to present the Freedom of the town, which had been previously voted to him. The troops paraded before the inn, and their bands saluted him with appropriate music. Lord Nelson, accompanied by the Corporation, went in procession to the church, and there offered up thanks to Almighty God upon his safe return to his country. He was attended by all the naval officers on shore, as well as the principal inhabitants. At night the town was illuminated, bonfires were kindled, and other modes, usual in rejoicings, were put in requisition. On the following day he was escorted to the end of the town by the volunteer cavalry.

At Ipswich, in Suffolk, like honours attended him—the

horses were taken from his carriage, and he was dragged a mile into the town, and three miles out upon quitting it. On the road to London many marks of respect were displayed, and on the 9th he arrived and proceeded to Nerot's Hotel, King Street, St. James's, where he found his venerable father and Lady Nelson. By the former he was received with the fond attachment he always evinced towards his beloved son; by the latter his reception is reported to have been "extremely cold and mortifying to his feelings." The reports of his intimacy with Lady Hamilton had doubtless reached his wife's ears, and may be considered as accounting for her conduct, and the manifest neglect of not meeting him at Yarmouth. Such neglect was ill calculated to restore the affections of a husband, should they unfortunately have been lost, of which, however, at this time Lady Nelson had not probably conclusive evidence. What followed needs not to be here detailed, their estrangement became greater and greater, until at length they parted for ever.[1]

In the evening of the day of his arrival in London, Lord Nelson visited Earl Spencer, and on the 10th, the 9th falling on a Sunday, he was a guest at the Installation dinner of the Lord Mayor of London in the Guildhall. On his road thither, upon reaching Ludgate Hill, he was recognised, the horses were taken from his carriage, and he was triumphantly drawn to the feast, where he received the sword,[2] voted by the city, to him. A triumphal arch had been erected, under which he stood during this ceremony, and after an appropriate address from Richard Clark, Esq. the Chamberlain, he addressed the Corporation, saying, "With this very sword I hope soon to aid in reducing our implacable and inveterate enemy to proper and due limits; without which this country can neither hope for, nor expect a solid, honorable and permanent peace." On the 20th he took his seat in the House of Lords.

Return to England seems at once to have accomplished Nelson's recovery, for on the day of his landing at Yarmouth he wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty to announce his arrival, that his health was perfectly re-established, and that

[1] See Supplementary Chapters, "Lady Hamilton" and "Horatia Nelson."

[2] This was of a very costly description, the handle being of solid gold, covered with blue enamel and studded with diamonds. The guard of it was supported by anchors, with the representation of a crocodile as emblematical of the Nile.

it was his wish to serve immediately. He hoped that his necessary journey by land from the Mediterranean would not be considered as a wish to be a moment out of active service.

It was not long ere Nelson was again employed, for in his letter to Hercules Ross,[1] Esq. of the 21st of November, he says: "This place of London but ill suits my disposition. However, till the war is finished, I shall not be much from my proper element. The San Josef is to be my flag-ship."

In the month of December he lost his old friend Commodore Locker, Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich Hospital. In a letter to his son, he describes him as "a man whom to know was to love, and those who only heard of him honoured. The greatest consolation (he observes) to us, his friends who remain, is, that he has left a character for honour and honesty which none can surpass, and very, very few attain. That the posterity of the righteous will prosper we are taught to believe; and on no occasion can it be more truly verified than from my dear much lamented friend; and that it may be realized in you, and your sister, and brothers, is the fervent prayer of, my dear John, your afflicted friend, NELSON."

He paid respect to the memory of his early friend by attending his remains to the grave. The following letter to Lady Hamilton relates to this event:—

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"It is now six o'clock, and I dread the fatigue of this day, being not of the best spirits, and believe me when I say that I regret that I am not the person to be attended *upon* at this funeral, for although I have had my days of glory, yet I find this world so full of jealousies and envy that I see but a very faint gleam of future comfort. I shall come to Grosvenor Square[2] on my return from this melancholy procession, and hope to find in the smiles of my friends some alleviation for the cold looks and cruel words of my enemies. May God bless you, my dear Lady, and believe me ever your unalterable

"NELSON.

"Saturday Morning."

[1] The uncle of Captain Colquhoun, and with whom Nelson became acquainted in the West Indies. He was a merchant at Jamaica.

[2] The residence of William Beckford, Esq. where Sir William and Lady Hamilton were residing.

On the 5th of September Governor Ball wrote to Lord Nelson an account of the surrender of the long-blockaded La Valetta, and in his letter refers to a correspondence with Major-General Pigot. The following is the only portion that appears to have been preserved, and the inefficacy of the application therein made is obvious from the succeeding letter of the 27th.

GOVERNOR BALL TO MAJOR-GENERAL PIGOT.

"St. Antonio, 1st September, 1800.

"Sir,

"In the conference which I had the honour of having with you on the subject of my right to sign any capitulation to which the French may be reduced, you informed me, that your instructions do not admit of my interference. I therefore conceive it my duty, officially, to give my reasons for claiming a right, as chief of this island, to be consulted, and to sanction the terms to which the enemy may be obliged to submit.

"When the troops of different nations co-operate, it has been customary, for the commander of each national force to sign the capitulation. A recent instance occurred last year. The combined forces besieging St. Elmo were commanded by the Duke de Salandra, a General in his Sicilian Majesty's service, but the commanders of the British, Russian, and Turkish troops joined their signatures to that capitulation, which was the result of their joint efforts.

"I consider the Maltese a distinct corps, who have besieged La Valetta twelve months, with unexampled bravery and perseverance, without the aid of foreign troops; at present they have three thousand troops, who occupy the advanced posts, and three thousand militia enrolled ready to act. They have been lately maintained at the joint expense of the Courts of England, Russia, and Naples, and if I am not allowed as their chief to sign the capitulation alluded to, I am apprehensive it will give much offence to the two latter Courts, as well as the Maltese, who conceive that both in a civil and military point of view, they are entitled to an important voice.

"You were pleased to inform me, that in the event of the sur-

render of La Valetta, you have orders to hoist British colours only, in that garrison; in answer, I beg leave to acquaint you, that when Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson commanded in the Mediterranean, I received orders from him to hoist the colours of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, whenever I enter La Valetta, in conformity to an agreement between the Ministers of the Courts of England, Russia, and Naples, since which I have been lately informed by the Honourable Mr. Paget, the British Minister at Palermo, that he has not received counter orders. If there be any objection to the execution of that order, I trust there will not be to the hoisting his Sicilian Majesty's colours with those of his Britannic Majesty. I shall only trespass one observation in support of his Sicilian Majesty's *continued right* of the sovereignty of this island. In June 1798, the French invaded this island, without any previous declaration of war, and reduced the inhabitants to capitulate, three months after which, the Maltese in the country, who are three-fourths of the population of the island, revolted and besieged the French in La Valetta, and the adjacent posts; they then sent a deputation to his Sicilian Majesty to *renew* their acknowledgments to him as their lawful sovereign, and to solicit his aid to expel the French, in which his Majesty was pleased to acquiesce, and from that period has contributed in troops, money, and ammunition to their support. It will be therefore presumed that the English come here as an ally to his Sicilian Majesty, and cannot intend to dispossess him of the sovereignty of this island by assuming an exclusive right to hoist British colours in La Valetta. I beg leave to express, Sir, the satisfaction I feel, in having to discuss such subjects with an officer of your rank and character, as I am confident, you will avoid as much as possible, giving offence to the Allies of his Britannic Majesty.

"I have the honour to be,

"With the most perfect esteem,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL.

"Major-General Pigot,
Commanding the Allied forces in
the island of Malta."

GOVERNOR BALL TO LORD NELSON.

"Malta, 27th September, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"I had the pleasure of writing to your Lordship the 5th instant, on the surrender of La Valetta, and sent copies of my correspondence with Major-General Pigot on the subject of my right to sign the capitulation, and my orders to hoist the colours of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, both of which he would not allow, as his order from Sir R. Abercromby directed the contrary. General Pigot has conducted himself towards me in a manner highly indelicate and unbecoming. I have been treated and considered as Chief or Governor of this Island by your Lordship, Lord Keith, and Sir R. Abercromby, but General Pigot in the first standing orders has placed me in rank below the Town-Major, who is a Captain in the army. I send you the printed articles respecting me. All the officers of the army have spoken with indignation of the treatment, and pay me the utmost respect and attention; I have not remonstrated with the General, but I believe he has been spoken to by Martin,[1] since which he has directed a guard to be turned out for me. I continue giving the General every aid, and do not allow his insult to affect the public operation, and I am sure that he is now satisfied that my assistance is absolutely necessary to him. We dine together, and keep up an apparent cordiality. I tell your Lordship in confidence, what in a short time will be publicly known, that the General is the most unpopular man that ever commanded a garrison. I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that the Maltese give me daily additional proofs of their confidence and obedience to my orders. A large party had shewn a disposition to punish the Jacobins in the manner they were treated at Naples, but there has not been the smallest irregularity committed. The people are happy and contented, and the English in general observe that La Valetta and its port, are among the very few places which have exceeded their expectations; it is certainly a very interesting spot.

"Honest Tyson is here, who will write to your Lordship.

[1] Now Admiral Sir George Martin.

I hear Lord Keith is going to England, he is displeased with the Admiralty and has desired to be recalled—we all pray that your Lordship may succeed him. I long to hear of your arrival in England in good health, as I have been apprehensive that you would suffer from the land journey. I hope the welcome and grateful acclamations of the ministers and people of England, with the sight of your family, will restore your spirits and cheerfulness. I request your Lordship to indulge me with a line, telling me how your health is, I will not trouble you to say more, knowing how very much your time will be taken up.

"Martin is here; Blackwood is going to Alexandria; Peard is waiting for orders. We have heard unfavourable reports of Sir William Hamilton's health, which I hope you will be able to contradict; we hear that Lady Hamilton remains with the Queen at Vienna. I have not yet received orders from General Acton on the subject of the English colours hoisted here; but I hear he is highly offended at it. It has been insinuated that I stickle too much for the Sicilian interest, because the Sicilian flag was hoisted at St. Antoine, and because I have officially represented the orders I had from your Lordship on the subject of the colours; I am so truly disgusted, and am so sensible of the little recompense which I shall get for my anxious labours and loss of prize-money, that I would have retired to my ship, were I not assured that there would have been a convulsion among the Maltese. Adieu, my dear Lord, may God ever bless and protect you, prays

"Your ever obliged and devoted,

"ALEXANDER JOHN BALL.

"The Alexander has been hove down at Minorca, and in a fortnight will be up here, one of the best ships in the Mediterranean, which will secure me for the war."

The following one is without date:—

"Colonel Fardillo, who commands the Neapolitan troops here, applied to sign the capitulation, but was refused. General Vaubois told Martin that his garrison have only consumed seven months whole allowance of rations in two

years. Your Lordship will read Captain Martin's account of the capture of La Dianne; we have great hopes La Justice will share the same fate.

"A. J. BALL.

"P.S. I have just received a letter from General Graham,[1] who conducted the business of the capitulation, saying that General Vaubois objected to my signing as chief of the Maltese. Major-General Pigot and I conduct business with great harmony. I have not had the slightest reason to be dissatisfied with him, he is very reserved, but I think he is a very friendly man.

"A. J. B."

At the surrender of La Valetta by the French, the British found 800 pieces of ordnance mounted on the fortifications; the number required to mount the whole was estimated at 1150. The scarcity, and consequent dearness of provisions was awful, and not less than 20,000 persons are said to have died from privations and hardships, in the course of two years. The capitulation was signed on the 5th of September, 1800, by General Vaubois and Admiral Villeneuve on the part of the French, and by Major-General Pigot and Commodore Martin on that of the English. The garrison was to march out with the honours of war as far as the seashore, where they were to ground their arms, and be embarked for Marseilles, there to remain prisoners until exchanged. The blockade had continued two years and two days. During this period, Captain Ball's services had been most valuable. Mr. Coleridge has borne his testimony to their excellence. He states that "the purity and strict propriety of his conduct, which precluded rather than silenced calumny, the evenness of his temper, and his attentive and affectionate manners in private life, greatly aided and increased his public utility."[2]

At the Peace of Amiens in 1802, it was, after much difficulty, arranged that Malta should be restored to the Knights of St. John, and be independent as formerly, and that a Maltese langue should be established—neither French nor English langue adopted. Upon the ratification of this treaty,

[1] The late Lord Lynedoch.

[2] The Friend, Vol. iii. p. 283.

the British troops were to quit possession in three months; but the conditions of the treaty were not complied with from the events which occurred, and which rendered the restoration of the island incompatible with the security of our Indian possessions. Malta formed afterwards the head-quarters of the English army in the Mediterranean, and was found to be of great importance to the welfare of our fleet and to the maintenance of commerce. The plague in 1813 occasioned the deaths of 4668 persons, and the place became deserted. In the following year it was definitively arranged with France and the Allied powers, that Malta should, with the concurrence of Sicily, be united to Great Britain, and the Maltese thus came under the protection of a great Naval power, which is unquestionably essential to their safety and well-being. The Order of St. John still exists, but its revenues are insignificant. At Ferrara there is a Grand Master and a few Knights.

The Queen of Naples addressed the following to Lady Hamilton after their departure from Vienna :—

"Schonbrun, October 17, 1800.

"My dear Lady,

"This letter which I send you by a courier is the first I have written since your departure. I received a letter from you from Prague, by Madame Robemirchi. I am aware that you have been in Saxony, but have received no letters from you during your stay there. I hope and trust that this will find you safely arrived in England and the Chevalier also, and both in good health—and that our valorous hero Nelson may be esteemed, cherished, known and applauded, as his character and great actions deserve. You see Malta is taken, and the French driven out, that is well, but the King, and all of us, are much mortified, that in the capitulation there was no representative of ours there, although we had troops, ammunition, artillery, and positive rights in the island. The only flag flying was the English—our being so completely duped is the subject of laughter here, and the injury is so much the more painful coming from a friend, otherwise it would be nothing.—We are so much the friends of England that we are pleased that great friendly power should hold a post

overlooking Sicily, but the neglect of the forms, and the slights shewn to us after so much care, confidence, cordiality, assistance, and the enormous expenses we have been put to, are very painful to think of, that is the truth. Oh! how often have I thought if my friends had been there, this would not have happened. My health varies, sometimes better, sometimes worse, but I am never entirely well; my dear children are all well, the rest as usual. The day of your departure from Vienna was fatal for me, for the Emperor on that day returned with that most disgraceful armistice, signed; thus your departure which afflicted me, was also the precursor of most unfortunate events. I have received a courier from St. Petersburg, Belmont has arrived there in good health, and is satisfied; they have given him the order of St. Andrew, and there where they see and know him, they at least render him that justice, which was refused him elsewhere through prejudice. My daughter-in-law, thank God, is quite well, she has sent me the portrait of her little Ferdinand, who is very pretty, and she is naturally very delighted. The Sicilians are making preparations for several fêtes, and appear quite contented. At Naples, bills for twenty-four millions are gone in, and the paper is at *par*. The King, with his usual frankness and generosity, has charged himself with that debt; I hope his subjects will acknowledge it. Adieu, my dear Lady, salute the Chevalier and my hero Nelson in my name, and believe me, whether near or distant, your grateful friend for life.

"CHARLOTTE."

"October 23, 1800.

"My dear Lady and tender Friend,

"I was affected to tears at our separation, and by your attachment, of which you have given me so many proofs even to the last moment. That heaven may bless and make you happy is the wish of my heart. May I soon have the consolation of seeing you again at Naples. I repeat what I have already said, that at all times and places, and under all circumstances, Emma, dear Emma, shall be my friend and sister, and this sentiment will remain unchanged. Receive my thanks once more for all you have done, and for the sin-

cere friendship you have shewn me—let me hear from you, I will manage to let you hear from me. Take care of your health. My compliments and assurances of friendship and gratitude to the Chevalier, a thousand thousand thanks to the hero Nelson, the recollection of whom my heart will ever retain. Adieu! that heaven may accord you all you desire is the heartfelt wish of your devoted and attached mother and friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Inclosed is the letter for the Queen and the honest Castelcicala. By one of our couriers I will send you letters, or Circello at Castelajo, and Lady Spencer in England, and believe me your grateful and ever sincere friend. Adieu."

The following letter from the Marquis de Niza must have been very gratifying to the feelings of Nelson who entertained great and deserved regard for the Admiral:—

"Lisbon, the 11th of December, 1800.

"Dear Duke and Brother,

"I beg your pardon if I disturb you for a moment, but my sincere attachment to you does not permit me to be silent for longer time.

"I had, my dear friend, the greatest pleasure seeing in the public papers the brilliant manner in which you have been received in England. You deserve all that, and I am sure that your name, virtues, and quality, will be for ever respected in all parts of the globe. Believe me, my Lord, it is my heart which speaks and not the flattery, you do know me well to believe me, and I hope you will be persuaded of my sincere attachment with which I will be always,

"My Lord,

"Your most humble servant,

"and attached friend,

"E. NIZA."

That Nelson, so popular as he was with the service, and with all other classes of society, should have been eagerly sought after, and feasted, is not to be wondered at. Earl St. Vincent was fearful of its consequences, and wrote to him thus:—

"My dear Lord,

"I wish you had done with this city feasting, for there is much risk of illness in going out of smoking hot rooms into the damp putrid air of London streets.

"They never can intend to place your Lordship under the command of Vice-Admiral Dickson; and in case of a great fleet acting in the Baltic, Sir Hyde Parker, who is in possession of all the information, acquired during the last preparation for a Russian war, must, I conceive, be appointed to the command of it.

"Yours most truly,

"ST. VINCENT.

"Torr Abbey, December 15th, 1800."

Sir William Hamilton, upon his return to England, having been Minister at Naples for the period of thirty-six years, made application for a pension for his long services, and remuneration for various losses he had sustained. Lord Nelson appears to have assisted him in the arrangement of the particulars of his claim, as is shewn by the following statement in Lord Nelson's handwriting:—

"FACTS.

"Four years past Sir William Hamilton had permission to come to England to settle his private affairs, and would have come with all his effects if the embroiled state of Italy, and the arrival of the King's fleet in the Mediterranean, had not made him determine, whatever inconvenience he might suffer, to remain at his post. In October, 1798, part of Sir William's valuable effects were sent home in the Colossus. By the accident which happened to that ship he suffered a loss of several thousand pounds. In December of the same year, except some pictures and vases which Lord Nelson had placed on board a transport, the whole of Sir William's effects at Naples were lost; for although much might have been saved had his thoughts been only turned towards his own property, yet self was absorbed in attending to the preservation of a whole Royal family, therefore not an atom of furniture was removed, excepting one couch, no, not even a bed. It can readily be conceived what mounting of such a house (as

every person who has travelled in this country, and all other nations, can testify) must have cost. On Sir William's arrival at Palermo, although the Queen did more than could be expected, it became necessary to arrange a new establishment consistent with his public character, and from the emigrated English of Naples and Tuscany, with many other persons of high rank in the world, together with the constant communication with the Navy, necessarily brought on a very heavy expense, for there was no house for those persons to resort to, but the British Minister's. The settling this new establishment, together with the closing the accounts on his being superseded, cost, by bills drawn upon London, £13,213., between August 1799 and June 1800, besides all losses, which cannot be estimated less than £10,000. sterling."

What the precise recompense sought for was to be, does not immediately appear from the preceding statement, which bears relation only to pecuniary amount, but some idea of it may be gathered from the following letters from Mr. Williams and Mr. Beckford. Lord Nelson's visit to Fonthill, in the month of December, was probably occasioned by the negotiation alluded to in this correspondence:—

MR. WILLIAMS TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

"Grosvenor Square, November 15th, 1800.

"Dear Sir,

"As you seemed desirous I should give you in writing the outline of the proposition I yesterday had the honour to make regarding the subject Mr. Beckford had commissioned me to converse with you on, that all misunderstanding on a matter of such importance might be avoided, I will endeavour to state it to you as concisely as possible.

"Mr. Beckford is well acquainted with the just reasons you have to expect a consideration from Government in recompense for your long and meritorious services, as well as for the very heavy expenses you must have incurred in consequence of the unusual difficulties of your situation. And as Administration, from the great pressure of the times, and the number of claims they must have on them, may not find it convenient to accord with your expectations, as to making a provision beyond the distinguished mark of favour you will

no doubt receive from his Majesty, Mr. Beckford has authorized me to say, if a Peerage should be offered, and you could arrange it so that the grant may be made to yourself, with remainder to Mr. Beckford and his heirs, that he would in case of Government, secure to you an annuity for life of whatever sum the consideration Government may make shall fall short of your expectations, with an adequate reversion to Lady Hamilton for her life. This, Sir, is the substance of what I had the honour to communicate to you; and it seems quite unnecessary for me to state any arguments in support of the just claims Mr. Beckford also has on his country, independent of the services rendered in the late trying crisis, by the respectable corps of volunteers he has raised, and wholly armed, clothed, and supported; you are not unacquainted that he has always given his influence to Administration, by the return of two Members to Parliament, which he will have no difficulty of continuing, provided a favourable disposition should be manifested towards him.

"I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"NICHOLAS WILLIAMS."

MR. BECKFORD TO LADY HAMILTON.

"Monday night, 10 o'clock, November 24th, 1800.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"In our addresses to superior beings it is quite in vain to flatter or dissemble; I cannot help, therefore, bluntly telling you that you have many worse things to get over than our November fogs. The intellectual fog we labour under in this phlegmatic country is the very devil. If any rays can dissipate this gloom, your's will; but you must shine steadily, rise early, set late, and keep above the horizon, almost without relaxation, till we have animated the dull clod. The gracious reception of the letter for the Queen, and the ungracious silence observed upon it ever since, are strange circumstances; but I have done wondering at any thing from that quarter. Your interview with D.[1] holds forth some hope. I agree with you in thinking him the best of the tribe. The Chevalier whom Sir William fancies *his* friend, and

[1] The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of the Secretaries of State.

who has decidedly proved *my* enemy, is of a colder and blacker composition; but what miracles the spirit of Scotticism may work, even upon this dire composition, I cannot answer. How unaccountable that there should be the smallest difficulty in the business, so energetically ready as I am to come forward with something solid in exchange for a mere vapour. I can scarcely persuade myself that any of these satraps, however callous, however obdurate, would stand plump in Sir William's way, or that the King, if properly informed upon the subject, would allow cold water to be poured upon so reasonable a proposal, because I happen to be distantly, and I hope very distantly, interested in its success. We shall see, and they shall see and hear too, if they are determined to put knives and ratsbane under my pillow, whenever I attempt at any stage of this troublesome existence to lay down my head. A fine fuss to be sure about their parchments and patents, which bankers, and the offspring of Jew brokers, have been suffered to purchase, and which have been scattered about with such profusion, that should that pestilence, a revolution, follow in due course, the famine now hovering at our door, not a tailor would be unprovided with measures from the *ci-devant* glorious materials. And really at the rate our world is whirling at, I should not be surprised at its making a dead stop at the dreadful point of ruin and insurrection; therefore, what madness, what intoxication, to pause so wearisomely in this affair, and not close with the proposal cheerfully, and with a good grace. I long to hear the result of your conversation with the best of the tribe. We must not give up easily: if baffled one day, rise again the next, and pursue your object with those omnipotent looks, words, and gestures, with which heaven has gifted you. By such perseverant efforts, and by such alone, we shall obtain justice and comfort for Sir William, in despite of the ungenerous bandy-legged crooked policy which prevails, I am sorry to say, in our highest departments. In all our manœuvres we shall be actively assisted by Mr. Williams, with whose hearty zeal and native ability you are now acquainted, and who, I am inexpressibly happy to learn, has executed the commission with which I entrusted him, so much to your and Sir William's satisfaction. Pray tell Lord Nelson, that

though dead to the world in general, and to almost all its great and small characters, I am perfectly alive to his transcendent merit, and feel towards him those sentiments of grateful admiration which glow in the heart of every *genuine* Briton. I exist in the hopes of seeing Fonthill honoured by his victorious presence, and if his engagements permit, his accompanying you here; we shall enjoy a few comfortable days of repose, uncontaminated by the sight and prattle of drawing-room parasites. Now, my dear Lady, though you must be pretty well tired with my long scribbilation, I am writing by the dim light of candles, with portentous snuffs, and the driving showers have almost lulled me and all my projects and speculations asleep. That light alone, which beams from your image, ever before my fancy like a vision of the Madonna della Gloria, keeps my eyes sufficiently open to subscribe myself with tolerable distinctness,

"Your most truly affectionate

"W. B.

"My kind compliments to your mother, whom I shall rejoice to see at Fonthill."

The application to the Government, I believe, terminated by the grant of a pension of £1200. *per annum*, on the Irish establishment, which was to terminate at the decease of Sir William, no provision being made for his widow. It was therefore enjoyed by Sir William only for the short period of two years.[1]

Lord Nelson remained but a short time in London ere he accepted the invitation from Mr. Beckford to visit him at Fonthill. He travelled with Sir William and Lady Hamilton; and on his approach to Salisbury, the Yeomanry Cavalry were out to meet and escort him at the distance of twelve miles, on the verge of the county, headed by Captain Windham, M.P. Lord Nelson was, upon his arrival in Salisbury, conducted to the Council House, which was guarded by a corps of the Royal North British Dragoons. Here he received the Freedom of the City, in an oak box, with a silver plate, on

[1] For further particulars relating to Sir William Hamilton, see Supplementary Chapter, "Lady Hamilton."

which was inscribed the resolution passed by the Corporation. In the crowd that had assembled before the Council House, Lord Nelson recognized a sailor who had fought at the Battle of the Nile, called him forward, expressed the satisfaction he felt at meeting one who had stood with him in the dangers of that celebrated day, and dismissed him with a handsome present. He also perceived another man loudly huzzaing, who had been with him at the time he underwent the amputation of his arm. He beckoned him to approach, and also made him a present, upon which, on withdrawing, the man took from his bosom a piece of lace, which he had torn from the shirt sleeve of the amputated arm, and declared he should preserve it to the latest period of his life, as a token in memory of his gallant commander. Lord Nelson departed from Salisbury amidst the most enthusiastic cheering, and left £20. to be distributed among the poor.

At Fonthill, Lord Nelson and his companions were received by the Volunteers, with their band of music, playing "Rule Britannia;" and upon arriving at the door of the house, a *feu de joie* was fired, and "God save the King" played. After dinner, Lady Hamilton and Banti (together with other eminent vocal and instrumental performers), executed some fine pieces of music, with great charms of voice and Italian sensibility. Nelson arrived on the 20th of December, and on the 23rd the festivities were transferred from the mansion to the Abbey.[1] A dinner of the most splendid character was given, on occasion of which an extraordinary profusion of plate was displayed. Mr. Wyatt, the architect, and Mr. Benjamin West, the President of the Royal Academy, were among the guests on this festive occasion.

In the gallery of the Abbey, after the repast, the company assembled, and Lady Hamilton enchanted them with one of her remarkable personations, that of Agrippina bearing the ashes of Germanicus, in a golden urn, and as presenting herself before the Roman people, with the design of exciting them to revenge the death of her husband, who,

[1] A Plate of the Reception of Lord Nelson at Fonthill Abbey is given in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1810. Part I.

after having been declared joint Emperor by Tiberius, fell a victim to his envy, and is supposed to have been poisoned by his order at the head of the forces which he was leading against the rebellious Armenians. A writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, and a visitor on the occasion, says, "Lady Hamilton displayed with truth and energy, every gesture, attitude, and expression of countenance, which could be conceived in Agrippina herself, best calculated to have moved the passions of the Romans in behalf of their favourite general. The action of her head, of her hands and arms, in the various positions of the urn, in her manner of presenting it to the Romans, or of raising it up to the gods in the act of supplication, was most classically graceful. Every change of dress, principally of the head, to suit the different situations in which she successively presented herself, was performed instantaneously, with the most perfect ease, and without retiring, or scarcely turning aside a moment from the spectators. In the last scene of this beautiful piece of pantomime, she appeared with a young lady of the company, who was to personate a daughter. Her action in this part was so perfectly just and natural, and so pathetically addressed to the spectators, as to draw tears from several of the company. It may be questioned whether this scene, without theatrical assistance of other characters and appropriate circumstances, could possibly be represented with more effect."[1]

[1] Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1801, p. 298.

CHAPTER XII.

1801.

THE year 1801 commenced by Nelson's appointment on the 1st of January to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and to join the Earl of St. Vincent, in the Channel fleet. The San Josef, which had been boarded by him and taken in the action of the 14th of February, 1797, had been selected as his flag-ship, and, as it appears by the following most kind and interesting letter, by the Commander-in-chief himself:—

"My dear Lord,

"Now that your ceremonies and presentations are nearly gone through, allow me to congratulate you on your safe return to a grateful country, and to add, that not having been acquainted with your views, or whether the state of your health would admit of your serving in those seas during the winter months, I have constantly kept the San Josef in my mind's eye for you, as the most appropriate ship in all respects, and to this effect I continued to keep the Namur in the squadron until pretty far in the last month, although her beams were in danger of slipping from the clamps, and the ship tumbling all to pieces; at the same time, I endeavoured to impress Lord Spencer with a just opinion that her ship's company having behaved in the most correct manner during the whole time of tumult and sedition at home and abroad, they ought to be an exception from a wise general principle, and to continue serving together, and I recommended in the most earnest manner that they should form the basis of the San Josef crew; that Captain Lukin would do justice to her in the equipment, and give her up like a saint to any flag officer who might fall in love with her, keeping your name and pretensions out of sight. To the builder and other dock

officers at Plymouth, I held out an idea that I intended to fix upon her for my flag, with a view to have her better finished and fitted than ordinary. Remember me in the kindest manner to Lady Nelson; say everything proper to Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and be assured, I am yours, most truly,

"ST. VINCENT.

"Torr Abbey,
17th Nov. 1800.

"My carcass is very crazy, the mind active as ever.

"ST. VT."

Nelson nominated Hardy as his Captain, and, according to the Naval Chronicle,[1] the whole fleet cheered when the Admiral's flag was hoisted.

Nelson having returned to London, remained there until January the 13th, when he departed for Plymouth, accompanied by his brother, the Rev. William Nelson.[2] His progress is now fully described in an almost daily series of letters addressed to Lady Hamilton:—

"Axminster, January 14th, 1801,
8 o'clock.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"We set off from Southampton at eight o'clock this morning, and got to Mr. Rose's[3] at half past nine, but found him gone to London, therefore, I had my trouble for nothing but the pleasure of trying to serve my brother. Anxiety for friends left, and various workings of my imagination, gave me one of those severe pains of the heart that all the windows were obliged to be put down, the carriage stopped, and the perspiration was so strong that I never was wetter, and yet dead with cold. However, it is gone off, and here I am, and while I live, your affectionate,

"NELSON.

[1] Vol. v. p. 94.

[2] For the domestic particulars connected with Lord Nelson's departure from London, see Supplementary Chapters.

[3] Afterwards the Rt. Hon. Sir George Rose, of the Treasury.

"I find the same crowds and applauses that you for ever join in. Make my best regards to Sir William, the Duke,[1] Mr. Beckford, and tell Lord William Gordon his last verses are perfectly true. My brother sends his regards."

[Plymouth.] "January 17th, 1801, Five o'clock.
"I write through Mr. Nepean[2] that this letter may get to you on Sunday.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"I am this moment arrived, and truly melancholy. I feel as if no friend was near me. *How different!* We left Axminster yesterday morning at eight. At Honiton, I visited Captain Westcott's[3] mother—poor thing, except from the bounty of Government and Lloyd's, in very low circumstances. The brother is a tailor, but had they been chimney-sweepers it was my duty to shew them respect. Being dragged out of the town we broke down half-way between that place and Exeter, at five miles from which we were met by the Devon Cavalry Volunteers, and escorted into the town, through which we were dragged to the hotel, where the Foot Volunteers met us. The rest of the parade was exactly like Salisbury. At half-past four arrived at Torr Abbey. The Earl[4] received me with much apparent cordiality, and we parted this morning good friends; but not a word of prize-money, which I certainly will not give up. I will write you fully to-morrow, but the post is almost gone. May God bless my dear friend, and believe me ever your

"NELSON.

"Best regards to Sir William."

[1] His Grace the Duke of Queensberry.

[2] One of the Secretaries of the Admiralty.

[3] Captain Westcott was killed at the Battle of the Nile. See Note, page 136, *ante*.

[4] St. Vincent, who had at this time a law-suit with Nelson regarding some prize-money.

"Plymouth Dock, January 21st, 1801.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"It is a dreadful rainy day, and the ship cannot be got out of the harbour, therefore, letters will certainly find me here till Monday; that is, you may safely write till Saturday. I have not got, I assure you, scarcely a comfort about me, except the two chairs which you ordered of Mr. Foxhall. I have wrote her [Lady N.] a letter of truths about my outfit. You ought to have received a letter on Sunday; it was put under cover to Mr. Nepean, and was with him on Sunday morning, with one for her. I well knew your friendly anxiety about my arrival, and I had no other way of your getting a letter on Sunday. Poor Nile was bought at a large dog shop in Holborn; Mr. Davison was with me. Those active dogs will not do for the house; if he is not found, and you buy another, get a more domestic animal. I sincerely hope that your very serious cold will soon be better. I am so much interested in your health and happiness, that pray tell me all. You have had a large party. Do Ladies J. Halliday and Rodney take after their amiable mamma? With my best regards to Sir William, the Duke, Mrs. Dennis, &c. &c. believe me, as ever, my dear Lady, your fast and unalterable friend,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"Pray send me the last lines wrote by Lord William Gordon, and 'Henry's anchor fixed in ——'s heart.'"

In Tucker's Memoirs of the Earl of St. Vincent[1] is printed a congratulatory letter (dated Plymouth Dock, Jan. 20th, 1801), from Lord Nelson to the Earl upon his birthday, in which he says:—"May this day, my dear Lord, which I am told is your birthday, come round as often as life is comfortable, and may your days be comfortable, for many, many years. Almost my only ungratified wish is, to see you alongside the French Admiral, and myself supporting you in the San Josef. We may be beat, but I am confident the

[1] Vol. ii. p. 172.

world will believe we could not help it. I called on Troubridge's sister this day, and I find I have given great offence in not going to the Long Room last night; but my promise is solemnly made not to go to an assembly till a Peace."

I am happy to be able to print the Earl's reply to this letter:—

"My dear Lord,

"A thousand thanks for your recollection, of my having, yesterday, lived sixty-six years; and your wishes, that the small remainder of my days may be well spent in your company, in defending our country against the host of foes which threaten its destruction; for, *entre nous*, Prussia has actually signed the League, and America will, if Jefferson is elected President.

"A little personal attention to the ladies of Plymouth Storehouse and Dock, will do away any unfavourable impression from their disappointment on Monday night, and you know how to tickle them.

"Yours, my dear Lord, most truly,

"St. Vincent.

"All here send their kindest wishes.

"Torr Abbey,
21st Jan. 1801."

On the same day, he received the following from the Earl Spencer,[1] relating to the ship he was likely to go to sea with:—

[*Private.*]

"My dear Lord,

"I only at present can acknowledge your letter of the 17th, and express my satisfaction at your being again afloat.

"I shall be able soon to write on the subject of ships; but I can say thus far to-day upon it, that it is by no means in contemplation for you to be put into the Windsor Castle, which was only mentioned cursorily one day in conversation

[1] At this time First Lord of the Admiralty.

with Sir Hyde[1] as being one of the three-deckers which draws the least water. The Formidable is not of that description. As to troops, you know the objections in the way, and they certainly appear to be insurmountable.

"Yours, my dear Lord,

"Very faithfully,

"SPENCER.

"Admiralty,
21st June, 1801."

Earl St. Vincent had also had a communication on the subject with the First Lord of the Admiralty, and wrote Nelson thus:—

"My dear Lord,

"I rejoice that the San Josef is found to answer so well. I have a long letter from Lord Spencer this morning touching Baltic arrangements, in which you are described as second in command, but not a word of the San Josef. The moment I receive orders to take you and her under command, directions shall be dispatched for you and her to come hither.

"Remember me kindly to your brother and Captain Hardy, and be assured I am yours most truly,

"ST. VINCENT.

"23rd Jan. 1801.

"All here desire to be particularly remembered. ST. VT."

Lord Nelson was at Exeter on the 21st, and received the freedom of the city. In reply to the address of the Recorder, he is reported to have said:—"Whatever merit may have been attributed to him in the action of the Nile, it was only for having executed the orders intrusted to him; that those orders came to him from his Commander-in-chief, who had received them from the Lords of the Admiralty. They were very concise: it was to take, burn, sink, and destroy the French fleet wherever he should meet them. He had only been the instrument employed to effect this service." He assured those around him, from his own knowledge, "that

[1] Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Bart., the Commander-in-chief in the Baltic. See Note, page 72 *ante*.

to this war, however burdensome it may have been considered, we owed the blessings we now experienced, in the enjoyment of our liberties, laws, and religion; and, although we might one day hope to be at peace with France, we must ever be at war with French principles."

He visited Earl St. Vincent at Torr Abbey, the seat of George Cary, Esq., and returned to Plymouth on the 24th, upon which day the freedom of that city was voted to him by the Corporation in a silver box.

His impatience to have his ship in readiness began to manifest itself as on former occasions, and he writes to Lady Hamilton:—

"Jan. 24th, 1801.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"No orders to man my San Josef; therefore, instead of being paid this day as I wished, it will be Monday. They are not so active at the Admiralty as I am. Your letters of Thursday are this moment arrived, for which I sincerely thank you. I will, if possible, write to Admiral Man, who has the regulation of appointing Lieutenants, requesting him to give Mr. Champion a good frigate. If I could take him I would on your recommendation. This day has made me a freeman of Plymouth. I will send you the address tomorrow, as my frank will not send free of postage the Exeter occurrence and Plymouth. Miss Troubridge is our friend's sister, about fifty-five, pitted with the small-pox, and deafer by far than Sir Thos. T. Respect to him, and his having prepared his house for me made it proper. Mrs. K. I met in her walk, but should have called, as she is a near relation of hers, and known to me for eighteen years. Write to Brixham, as I directed, to the care of Troubridge, and if any alteration should take place respecting myself, I will write him what to do with my letters. May the heavens bless and preserve my dearest friend, and give her every comfort this world can afford, is the sincere prayer of your faithful and affectionate,

"Nelson and Bronté.

"Send the letter to Admiral Man, and give it to Mr. Champion."

In the envelope franked of this date, which probably contained the addresses alluded to, is the following interesting message to Lord Holland.

"Tell Lord Holland I was sorry not to have called, but you know my intentions, and how sensible I am of his goodness to me when I was last in England, and although in the way of wishing well in our dear country, we may think differently, yet I am sure we both love her equally, and would lay down our lives, if necessary, to save her from being humbled by France."

The Mayor of Plymouth addressed the following to Lord Nelson:—

"Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson,

"The Mayor and Aldermen having unanimously resolved to request your Lordship's acceptance of the Freedom of this ancient and respectable Borough, have delegated to us, a part of the Corporate body, the honour of presenting it to you.

"We cannot omit the opportunity thus afforded us of stating that we feel in common with all other his Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects, the magnitude and importance of that most signal victory which was obtained over our enemies by the fleet commanded by your Lordship, a victory which when viewed amidst the numerous splendid naval achievements by which this country, and more particularly the present war has been distinguished, is, in many of its circumstances, unparalleled and unrivalled, and which may be considered as a most happy result of wise and prompt orders by the Commander, and of skilful and gallant execution by his brave officers and seamen.

"We see with no small confidence and pleasure that you are again going into active service, and we doubt not you will seize every opportunity of adding to that fame you have already so justly acquired, and of entitling yourself to the increasing gratitude of your country.

"I feel myself particularly gratified that it is my province to have the honour of conveying to your Lordship this mark

of our respect, and of the sentiments by which it is dictated and accompanied.

"Plymouth, 24th January, 1801."

The following were addressed to Lady Hamilton:—

"January 25th, 1801.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"If you'll believe me, nothing can give me so much pleasure as your truly kind and friendly letters, and where friendship is of so strong a cast as ours, it is no easy matter to shake it —mine is as fixed as Mount Etna, and as warm in the inside as that mountain. The Audacious (Gould[1]) will be paid off to-morrow, and he bears the talking of Miss Knight with good humour. He has inquired where she lives. He is not grown much wiser since we left him, or he never would have wished to leave such a ship and ship's company. I am quite vexed not to have orders for completing the San Josef's complement of men, or to proceed to sea, therefore I shall certainly not be at Torbay on Wednesday. I shall write to Troubridge this day to send me your letter, which I look for as constantly and with more anxiety than my dinner. * * * What dreadful weather we have got: a deep snow. I wish I was just setting off for Bronté. I should then be happy. As I cannot now sail before Thursday, you may direct your letter on Tuesday to me at Plymouth, and if ever so ready will not sail till the post is arrived. On Wednesday direct to Brixham as I mentioned before, and believe me as ever, yours, &c. &c.

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

[1] Sir Davidge Gould was a Post Captain of the date of March 25th, 1789. He was in the Leeward Islands during the Spanish and Russian armaments, and at the commencement of the Revolutionary war was appointed to the Cyclops, and was at the reduction of Corsica. He was afterwards in Vice-Admiral Hotham's fleet, and engaged in his two actions. He was then appointed to the Audacious, 74 guns, and joined Sir Horatio Nelson in 1798, distinguishing himself at the Battle of the Nile. He assisted in the blockade of Malta, and was at the capture of Le Généreux in 1800. In the following year he was appointed to the Majestic, and attached to the Channel Fleet. He afterwards went to the West Indies, and upon his return was paid off at Plymouth. The Windsor Castle of 98 guns was stationed off Brest in the years 1804 and 1805, and commanded by Captain Gould. He was made G.C.B., having reached the rank of Rear-Admiral in 1807, and Vice-Admiral in 1810. He died Admiral of the Red, and Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom, April 23rd, 1847.

"My brother is as vexed as I am, and fears he shall lose his trip to Torbay. I should have lived on board before, but as the ship will be paid to-morrow, I hope to get on board on Tuesday. I hate Plymouth. I shall write every day."

"January 26th, 1801.

* * * * * *

"I have no orders, and can have none before Wednesday, therefore sooner than Thursday or Friday the ship cannot move. I have told my brother of your intentions of giving him a paste.[1] He proposes, if no orders arrive very soon, to leave me, when I shall instantly return on board. I feel no loss in not going to these balls and assemblies. My thoughts are very differently engaged. I know nothing of my destination more than I did when in London, but the papers and reports of my being to be put in a bad ship which, although I can hardly credit, fills me with sorrow, which joined to my private feelings, makes me this day ready to burst every moment into tears. I will try and write to the Duke[2] to-morrow; this day I could not if millions lay in my way. * * * *

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"January, 27th 1801.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"I have got so dreadful a cold in my good eye, that it is all I can do to see a word I write, and I am anxious and uneasy till you can tell me some news of our dear Queen. Her situation at this distressing time fills me with apprehension. I pray God she may get well through it. Troubridge will send me your letter to-morrow. Hardy was with me this morning, and I delivered him your regards. * * * I cannot, my dear friend, see a word, therefore must finish, and only beg you to believe me to be, &c. &c.

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"I dine quiet at home with an old purser, seventy years of age. I refuse all invites except the Commissioner and Admiral—these I cannot get off."

[1] Medallion of Lady Hamilton commonly used as a seal.

[2] Duke of Queensberry.

"January 28th, 1801.

"What a fool I was, my dear Lady Hamilton, to direct that your cheering letters should be directed for Brixham. I feel this day truly miserable in not having them, and I fear they will not come till to-morrow's post. What a blockhead to believe that any person is so active as myself. I have this day got my orders to put myself under Lord St. Vincent's command, but as no order is arrived to man the ship, it must be Friday night or Saturday morning before she can sail for Torbay. Direct my letters now to Brixham. My eye is very bad. I have had the Physician of the Fleet to examine it; he has directed me not to write (and yet I am forced this very day to write to Lord Spencer, St. Vincent, Davison about my lawsuit, Troubridge, Mr. Locker, &c.), not to eat any thing but the most simple food, not to touch wine or porter, to sit in a dark room, to have green shades for my eyes (will you, my dear friend, make me one or two, nobody else shall), and to bathe them in cold water every hour. I fear it is the writing has brought this complaint. My eye is like blood, and the film so extended, that I only see from the corner farthest from my nose. What a fuss about my complaints; but being so far from my sincere friend I have leisure to brood over them. * * *

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"I will try and write the Duke a line. My brother intended to have gone off to-morrow afternoon, but this half order may stop him."[1]

On the 28th of January Lord Nelson acknowledged the receipt of the order of the 26th from the Lords of the Admiralty to put himself under the command of the Earl of St. Vincent, and he communicated the receipt of it to his Commander-in-chief on the same day.

On the 29th he again wrote to Lady Hamilton, and it

[1] This letter was printed in the Collection of Nelson's Letters to Lady Hamilton, Vol. i. p. 20, and has been reprinted by Sir N. Harris Nicolas in the Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iv. p. 279. The Duke referred to was the Duke of Queensberry, not Hamilton as conjectured by Sir H. Nicolas. The Physician of the Fleet was the late Dr. Trotter.

would appear that reports of his too great intimacy with her Ladyship were beginning to spread about:—

"January 29th, 1801.

"I have this moment, my dear Lady, received your truly kind letter sent to Brixham on Monday, and also yours of Tuesday, which I shall reply to in rotation. You may tell Lord Abercorn that his élève, Mr. Sotheby, if he comes in my way, may be sure of my assistance. The lad really, without a compliment to parental feelings, deserves it, but you can answer there is not the smallest probability of my going to the Mediterranean. Mr. S. is quite right that through the medium of your influence is the surest way to get my interest. It is true, and it will ever be whilst you hold your present conduct, for you never ask any thing that does not do honour to your feelings, as the best woman, as far as my knowledge goes, that ever lived, and it must do me honour the complying with them. My dear Lady, old D. is a chattering old fool. What would the world say if you flirted it away with every coxcomb; all would despise you as they now envy you, for what can they say, only that you are kind and good to an old friend with one arm, a broken head, and no teeth. The good must love you, and I trust I am amongst the foremost, if not the very first. The Princess C. is not very wise, and, my dear friend, if you were to set your understanding against her, she would fall, and she ought to know by this time, that to gain my good will is not to neglect you.

"I have this day orders to be completed to my complement of men, and could you think it possible, with the very worst men in this port, not *one* seaman. Do the superiors think that my name is a host of strength, or do they wish to see the San Josef only equal to other ships, but Hardy and myself will work, and have her superior.—Nelson shall be first. Let jealousy, cabal, and art, &c. &c. &c. If the present gale abates, that the people can be got on board to-morrow, she shall sail on Saturday for Torbay, therefore my brother has consented to stay with me. The Physician has just been with me, and has enjoined me not to touch wine, and yesterday

not even porter went near my mouth to my great mortification. He recommends, if I had time, an operation, but all must wait till a peace. With kindest regards to Sir William, believe me ever, your faithful

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

On this day the San Josef anchored at Torbay, whence he wrote the following:—

"San Josef, Torbay, February 1, 1801.

"My dear Lady,

"The San Josef left Plymouth yesterday at 1 o'clock, and anchored here at 8 this morning, where I found an order to hoist my flag in the St. George, as Lord Spencer says I must go forth as the Champion of England in the North, and my San Josef is to be held by Captain Wolseley,[1] of the St. George, till my return, when I hope to have a knock at the Republicans. In this instance they have behaved handsome —could not be better. I trust I shall soon be at Portsmouth, and every endeavour of mine shall be used to come to town for three days, and perhaps you and Sir William may like to see Portsmouth. Captain Darby is just come in; he desires me to say everything which is kind, and that he wishes he could see you instead of your picture, which I have handsomely framed and glazed. The post is waiting, and I have been two hours pulling from Lord St. Vincent's house. It

[1] William Wolseley was descended from an ancient family in Staffordshire, and obtained the rank of Post Captain, September 14, 1782. Upon the commencement of the Revolutionary war, he was appointed to the Lowestoffe, and served under Lord Hood in the Mediterranean. He was dispatched with Commodore Linzee's squadron to co-operate with General Paoli in the reduction of Corsica. He distinguished himself at the attack on St. Fiorenzo, and at the taking of Calvi. Upon his return to England, he was employed in Ireland in the impress service, after which he commanded the Terrible of 74 guns, in the Channel fleet. After accompanying Sir Borlase Warren in the expedition against the French coast, he joined Vice-Admiral Dickson's squadron, destined for Copenhagen. He was afterwards Commander of the St. George, of 98 guns, and then the San Josef. He was made a Rear-Admiral, April 23, 1804, a Vice-Admiral, October 25, 1809, and full Admiral, August 12, 1819. He died Admiral of the Red, June 7, 1842.

is blowing fresh. May the heavens bless you and yours, is the fervent prayer of your unalterable and faithful

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"Best regards to Sir William. Instead of under cover, direct as follows:—Lord Nelson, &c. &c. to the care of Sir Thomas Troubridge, Bart., Brixham, Devon, which will give them to me four hours sooner."

"San Josef, February 2nd, 1801.

"* * * I live entirely on board, as the ship is, by Hardy's excellent arrangements, more comfortable than [any] other ship I have seen. I wish from my heart I could have Sir William and you on board, then indeed, I should be truly happy. I have this moment received your letter of Saturday, and my brother is sorry you have not been well, but thanks you for having sent for Charlotte.[1] I rejoice to hear you say you are better; only recollect the old nurse's advice: "nurse a cold, starve a fever;" therefore pray be sure and nurse yourself. If I was Sir William you should not get out of bed for a week, nor out of the house for a fortnight. You ought to follow my advice, as you know how exactly I follow yours when I am sick. Ever yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"The Earl is determined, Davison writes me, to carry on the law-suit, and is dreadfully angry with him for the part he has taken. He would have been glad to have left me without a friend, well knowing my ignorance of money matters."

"San Josef, February 4th, 1801.

* * * * * * * * *

"What a pretty piece of history! letting out the French squadron. I was laughed [at] by some wise ones in power, when I said if I was a French Admiral I would come out in spite of all the English fleet, as they kept close into Brest, and I would be outside of them before morning. Your dear kind letters of Monday, are just come on board in a shore

[1] Lord Nelson's niece, afterwards Lady Bridport.

boat, and I shall try and get mine ashore, but it is barely possible. Believe me yours, &c.

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"Make my respects to Sir William, the Duke, and Lord W. Gordon."

"February 5th, 1801.

"* * * * We are here all in a bustle from this French squadron having got to sea. So much for our sharp look out."

Prior to Lord Nelson sailing, Mr. Davison paid his Lordship a visit, and was the bearer of the following to Lady Hamilton:—

"San Josef, February 8th, 1801.

"My dear Lady,

"Mr. Davison demands the privilege of carrying back an answer to your kind letter, and I am sure he will be very punctual in the delivery. I am not in very good spirits, and except that our Country demands all our services and abilities to bring about an honourable peace, nothing should prevent my being the bearer of my own letter. But, my dear friend, I know you are so true and loyal an Englishwoman, that you would hate those who would not stand forth in defence of our King, Laws, Religion, and all which is dear to us. It is your sex that make us go forth, and seem to tell us, 'None but the brave deserve the fair,' and if we fall, we still live in the hearts of those females who are dear to us. It is your sex that rewards us, it is your sex who cherish our memories.

"I hope one day to see you in peace, before I set out for Bronté, which I am resolved to do. Darby's is one of the ships sent after the French squadron, I shall, therefore, give the print to Hardy. I think they might come by the mail-coach as a parcel, wrapt up round a stick—any print shop will give you one—and direct it as my letters. The coach stops for parcels at the White Bear, I believe, Piccadilly. Pray have you got my picture from Mr. Head's. I hope Mr. Brydon has executed the frames to your satisfaction; the bill he is directed to send to me: only tell me how I can

be useful to you and Sir William, and believe [me] nothing could give me more pleasure, being with the greatest truth, my dear Lady, your most obliged and affectionate friend,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"I am told, the moment the St. George arrives, that I am to be tumbled out of this ship, as the Ville de Paris is going to Plymouth to be paid, and the Earl will hoist his flag here, and if I am as fortunate in getting a fresh painted cabin (which is probable) I shall be knocked up; at all events, I shall be made very uncomfortable by this hurry. It has been very good and friendly of Mr. Davison to travel upwards of 200 miles to make me a visit. I rather think the great Earl will not much like his not having called on him, but the manner of speaking of Mr. Davison from his friendship to me in the matter of the law-suit, Lord St. Vincent states to my Solicitors as offensive to him. Why should it, only that Mr. Davison wishes that I should have justice done me, and not to be overpowered by weight of interest and money. Once more, God bless you and Sir William.

"N. & B.

"Sir Isaac Heard has gazetted Troubridge's, Hood's, &c. honours; but has not gazetted mine, and he has the King's order for mine as much as the others."[1]

"Feb. 9th, 1801.

"* * * The St. George is just arrived, but it blows so strong, and such a heavy sea, that my things cannot be moved, and yet I believe the Earl will order his flag to fly here, which is as much as to say *turn out*. You cannot think how dirty the St. George is compared to my own San Josef, and probably her inside is worse than her outside appearance. Hardy is just come on board. The ship is not fitted for a flag—her decks leaky, and is truly uncomfortable, but it suits exactly my present feelings.

"N. & B."

[1] This has been printed in the Collection of Nelson's Letters to Lady Hamilton, Vol. i. p. 23, and also by Sir N. H. Nicolas; Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iv. p. 284. The Order referred to is that of St. Ferdinand and Merit.

"Feb. 11th, 1801.

"* * * I am sorry Mr. Pitt is out. I think him the greatest Minister this country ever had, and the honestest man.

"N. & B."

"Feb. 12, 1801.

"* * * * I suppose all this new Ministry will bring about a peace, or a more vigorous prosecution of the war. If the former, I shall very soon go to Bronté, and it is odd I have never heard from Graeffer,[1] nor indeed have I wrote. * * The Earl is gone to London to consult, I suppose, with the new Administration. Do not forget me; consider I am a miserable fellow shut up in wood. I cannot get on board the St. George, the sea is so very high.

"N. & B."

This letter makes allusion to the change of administration when the Hon. Henry Addington became First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Earl St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty. Although Mr. Addington received the King's commands to form an administration on the 31st of January, the new Ministers did not enter upon office, in consequence of the King's illness, until the 14th of March. The arrangements were, however, made, and Lord Nelson wrote to the Earl of St. Vincent on the occasion: "I feel (he says) all your kind expressions, and in return I have only to assure you, that I never will ask you for what my judgment may tell me is an improper thing. My sole object, and to which all my exertions and abilities tend, is to bring this long war to an honourable termination; to accomplish which, we must all pull in the collar, and as we have got such a driver who will make the lazy ones pull as much as the willing, I doubt not but we shall get safely, speedily, and honourably to our journey's end. With every kind wish, both as a friend and an Englishman, for your ministerial prosperity, believe me, as ever, my dear Lord, your obliged and affectionate,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."[2]

[1] His Steward for the Bronté estate.

[2] Clarke and McArthur, Vol. ii. p. 250.

The correspondence with Lady Hamilton continues:—

"Feb. 14, 1801.

"* * * It continues to blow so hard, and the sea is so very high, that I scarcely expect the possibility of getting a boat with this weather. She would be lost in an instant. The sea has come over the San Josef's forecastle, and in my after-cabin the motion is so great that I cannot sit down. We have only to trust to our cables, for the sea is breaking against the rocks mountains high. Since Friday noon not a boat has been out; but in fair or foul weather, at sea or on shore I am for ever yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"Friday night, 9 o'clock (Feb. 14th, 1801).

* * * * * *

"I never intend, if I can help it, to set my foot out of the ship, but she is so completely uncomfortable, you can have no conception how miserable she is by Hardy's account. He has been on board two days, endeavouring to make my place a little decent, but it is neither wind nor water tight. I cannot get on board, it blows so very hard, and a heavy sea; all our topmasts struck, and every thing as close as possible. The boat which went to Brixham cannot get off, therefore, if your letters had not been directed to Sir Thomas Troubridge, I should not have had them. Troubridge is my guest during the absence of the Ville de Paris. He always says, now comes the fourth and old toast. 1. All our friends. 2. The King. 3. Success to the Fleet; and though last, not least, Lady Hamilton. Then they do as they please. I am certainly much better for leaving off wine. I drink nothing but water at dinner, and a little wine and water after dinner. I believe it has saved me from illness. The smell of the paint is gone. Your attached

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"February 15th, 1801.

"My dear amiable friend, could you have seen the boat leave the ship I am sure your heart would have sunk within you. I would not have given sixpence for the lives of the

nine men. A tremendous wave broke, and missed upsetting the boat by a miracle. Oh, God! how my heart jumped to see them safe. Then they got safe on shore, and I had given a two pound note to cheer up the poor fellows when they landed, but I was so anxious to send a letter for you. I knew it was impossible for any boat to come off to us since Friday noon, when the boat carried your letters, inclosed for Nepean, and she still remains on shore. The gale abates very little, if any thing, and it is truly fortunate that our fleet is not in port, or some accident would most probably happen: but both St. George and this ship have new cables, which is all we have to trust to; but I have no fear; I can take all the care which human foresight can, and then we must trust to Providence, who keeps a look out for Poor Jack.

"I cannot, my dear friend, afford to buy the three pictures of the Battle of the Nile, or I should like very much to have them, and Mr. Brydon cannot afford to trust me one year; if he could, perhaps I could manage it. I have desired my brother to examine the four numbers of the tickets I bought with Gibbs. I hope he has told you, I dare say in the office. Here are the numbers of the tickets my agents have bought for the ensuing lottery. I hope we shall be successful. I hope you always kiss my god-child[1] for me.

"*Monday Morning.* It is a little more moderate, and we are going to send a boat, but at present none can get to us, and therefore I send this letter to say that we are in being. I hope in the afternoon to be able to get letters, and if possible answer them. Kiss my god-child for me; bless it, and believe me ever yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"Monday night, (February 16th, 1801).

"My dearest friend, I have read all your letters over and over. My brother has a bluntness, and a want of fine feelings, which we are not used to; but he means nothing. I dare say somebody had told him in the street, a squadron of seven sail had gone after the enemy, and they naturally concluded I was sent. To say the truth, had I been Lord Spencer, I should have detached one Nelson as a much more likely man

[1] Horatia Nelson. See Supplementary Chapters.

to come up with the enemy, and to beat them, than the man they have sent—Sir Robert Calder;[1] but I am destined for the north, unless the Mediterranean command should become vacant, in that case I should realize a fortune, gain honour, and if you come out, not return to England for some years; but Lord Keith, I believe, loves the good things on that station too well. Supposing that was to happen, which is not likely, I would take an oath never to sleep out of the ship, unless absolutely forced by the impossibility of getting on board, but at present there is no prospect of my getting money. Our friend Troubridge is to be a Lord of the Admiralty, and I have a sharp eye, and almost think I see it. No, poor fellow, I hope I do him injustice; he cannot surely forget my kindness to him. When I am at sea, I shall send my packets through him. Whenever I get to Portsmouth, I shall ask for three days leave of absence; but time must be allowed for the answer; and if another Admiral is arrived to take the charge of the ships, which maybe assembled.

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"My dear friend, the gale is coming on again, but I am going to send our letters on shore. I have no expectation of farther communication this day—to morrow, I hope it may be better. I send you the numbers of the tickets bought for the next lottery, 2951, 9308, 42002, 50416, they are quarters. I have not put in for the diamond, I cannot afford it, but never mind, diamonds do not constitute happiness. I expect Troubridge will be ordered to London to-day, he will, of course, call upon you. I dare not longer defer sending my letter as the wind and sea increases. Tell Sir William I hope his Treasury business is settled to his satisfaction. Compliments to Lord William and the Duke.

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"Tuesday Night.

"I have, my dear friend, burnt the memorandums of my will, and have not yet wrote a word beyond the paper I sent you.[2] Do you approve of that as far as it goes? I know

[1] See page 86 *ante*.

[2] See Supplementary Chapter, "Horatia Nelson."

that for your advantage it must be left in trust, as a wife can have no property except it be made over by her husband. I am not clear how far it is right that a husband should be a trustee, I rather think not. In the next place, would you like the diamonds to be sold, for I do not see how diamonds can be in trust, and if they are not, and Sir William was not to leave them to you, his heirs would have right to them; in short, it would be giving the legacy to him and his heirs. However, I will do as you please, or if you leave the matter to me, I will do it to the best of my abilities and judgment. The star I shall leave to you, not in trust, nobody would take that memento of friendship, affection, and esteem from you. May curses light on them if they did. The King's sword should go with the Dukedom and estate of Bronté; the aigrette also to my heirs, as a memento that I once gained a victory.[1] Do you approve? You are the friend I consult, for I know you have my interest at heart.

"I have received the greatest benefit in leaving off wine; my sight of the one eye is certainly much improved, and my general state of health better. The boat which carried your letters this morning has not been able to get on board again, and it now blows and such a heavy sea, that there is no prospect of getting letters to-morrow, but I shall try hard. When you write to the Queen, you say I am sure, every thing which is proper for me.

"*Wednesday morning.*—A little more moderate; am going to send the letters, and hope to be able to get yours and answer. God bless you.

"N. & B."

"St. George, February 19, 1801.

"I have this moment got my orders to put myself under Sir Hyde Parker's orders, and suppose I shall be ordered

[1] Among Lady Hamilton's papers there is the following receipt:—"Received this 22nd day of February, 1806, of the Right Honourable Emma Lady Hamilton, the following articles belonging to the late Lord Viscount Nelson, *viz.*: the diamond aigrette, presented to his Lordship by the Grand Signior; the sword presented to him by the Captains who fought at the Battle of the Nile; the diamond sword, presented to him by the King of the Two Sicilies, and the collar of the Order of the Bath.

"NELSON."

to Portsmouth to-morrow or next day, and then I will try hard to get to London for three days.

"N. & B."

Nelson hoisted his flag on board the St. George on the 12th; but he was unable from the state of the weather to go himself until the 19th. He wrote a second letter on the 19th:—

"St. George, Monday night.

"My dearest friend, here I am fixed in my new habitation, which it is my firm intention never to sleep out of except from dire necessity, till the campaign is over, except when I may get three days leave to go to London to settle many of my private affairs, and I hardly think it will be refused me. I have this moment my orders to go to Portsmouth, and expect to be there to-morrow noon.

"N. & B."

On the 20th he wrote to Earl St. Vincent, and stated that he should have to request either public or private leave for three days, to settle some very important matters for himself.

The following letter was addressed to Lady Hamilton by the Rev. William (afterwards Earl) Nelson:—

"February 19, 1801.

"My dear Lady,

"For I must call you by that name, and I feel myself highly honoured in being permitted to do it, I cannot find words to express the grief I feel in leaving London and such amiable society as yours, indeed I have been scarcely able to speak a word the whole journey. Your image and voice are constantly before my imagination, and I can think of nothing else. I never knew what it was to part with a friend before, and it is no wonder that my good, my great, my virtuous, my beloved brother should be so much attached to your Ladyship, after so long a friendship, when I feel so much after so short an acquaintance. May it continue unabated to the latest period of our lives! I hope it will not be long before we shall all meet again.

"We are now at an inn, thirty miles from London, and have just finished our mutton chop. Mrs. Nelson, who thinks of you and loves you all as much as I do, has this moment given us a toast, 'Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and Lord Nelson—God bless them;' to which I answer, amen and amen. We shall pursue our journey to-morrow morning, and hope to reach home by dinner. We beg to join in kindest regards and good wishes to Sir William.

"I remain your grateful and affectionate friend,

"WILLIAM NELSON."

Nelson wrote again on the 22nd to Lady Hamilton:—

"St. George, Spithead, 8 o'clock, February 22nd, 1801.

"I am just going on shore to call on the Admiral and Commissioner, and shall be on board as soon as possible.

"*Noon.*—On board again; have received your truly comforting letters. In doing what I wish, you win my heart for ever. I am all soul and sensibility; a fine thread will lead me, but with my life I would resist a cable from dragging me. I hope very soon to get a few days leave of absence, but Sir Hyde [Parker] does not come down till next Monday or Tuesday, but Troubridge can tell you. I have been pressed to dine ashore by the Admiral, an old man of eighty, with an old wife dressed old ewe lamb fashion. Admiral Holloway,[1] an acquaintance of twenty-five years, wanted me

[1] John Holloway was a native of Wells, in Somersetshire, and went to sea in 1760, at the age of thirteen, in the Antelope, 50 guns, Captain Webb, and afterwards sailed in her with Captain, afterwards Lord Graves, to Newfoundland. He subsequently served under Sir Hugh Palliser, Admiral Durell, and Commodore, afterwards Viscount Hood. He was made a Lieutenant in 1771, and stationed in a guard-ship at Portsmouth, then in the Perseus with Captain Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Keith, and with Commodore, afterwards Lord Hotham. He was made a Commander by Admiral Parker, and in 1780 a Post Captain, and was engaged in the encounters between Sir George Rodney and M. le Comte de Guichen. In a voyage to North America, his ship, the Vengeance, suffered severely from a tempest, and he narrowly escaped being lost. He returned to England in 1781 with the prizes taken at St. Eustatia. In 1782, he sailed for the relief of Gibraltar, under Lord Howe, and captured a transport under very difficult circumstances. He also distinguished himself in the action with the combined Spanish and French fleets. In 1787, his acquaintance with Lord Nelson commenced, when the latter commanded the Boreas in the Leeward Islands, Captain Holloway then having the command of the Solebay. Here, too, he formed an intimacy with His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, who

to dine with him as to-day, or Wednesday. He has a wife and four children, with not a farthing to give them. Sir Charles Saxton, the Commissioner, an acquaintance of near thirty years, was also very pressing; but I will dine no where.

"N. & B."

On the 23rd he received from the Earl of St. Vincent leave of absence, and immediately quitted the St. George for London, for three days. On the 26th, he was directed to embark Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. William Stewart,[1] with a detachment, consisting of the 49th Regiment, about 760 men, under Lieut.-Colonel Brock, with a rifle corps of 100 men, under Captain Sidney Beckwith, and was to proceed with his squadron to Yarmouth, whither Admiral Sir Hyde Parker had gone. On the 27th he wrote the following to Lady Hamilton:—

"Portsmouth, February 27th, 1801.

"My dearest friend,

"Parting from such a friend is literally tearing one's own flesh; but the remembrance will keep up our spirits till we meet. I arrived here before noon, and have had my hands full of business. To-morrow we embark troops. I will write you a long letter to-night, and send it under cover to Trou-

highly respected him. He then served during the Russian and Spanish armaments, in the Princess Royal, and in the Britannia, at the commencement of the French war in 1793. He was with Admiral Hotham in his two engagements in 1795, and was especially noticed for his bravery and ability. During the mutiny at Spithead, in 1797, he commanded the Duke, and was one of the officers turned on shore from his strict adherence to discipline. He afterwards was in the St. George, 98 guns. On the 14th of February, 1799, he was raised to the rank of a Rear-Admiral, and soon after appointed assistant Port Admiral at Portsmouth, in which station he remained until the suspension of hostilities in 1801. Upon the renewal of the war, he resumed his duties at this port; and on April 23rd, 1804, he became Vice-Admiral, and hoisted his flag under Lord Keith. In 1807, he was made Governor of Newfoundland, and Commander-in-chief on that station. October 25th, 1809, he was made full Admiral of the Blue, lived to be an Admiral of the Red, dying June 26th, 1826.

[1] Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. William Stewart, was the son of the Earl of Galloway, and afterwards Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir William Stewart, G.C.B. He distinguished himself at the battles of Albuera, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, Nive, and Orthes, and died in January 1827. He wrote an excellent account of all the proceedings relating to the Battle of Copenhagen, which was printed in Clarke and McArthur's Life of Nelson, and also in the Dispatches and Letters, edited by Sir N. Harris Nicolas.

bridge; therefore you will have it on Sunday. Hardy, Parker,[1] and Fremantle, desire their remembrances.

"N. & B."

The preceding letter was written upon the day of his arrival, and Lieut.-Colonel Stewart especially remarked his activity. His ship, the St. George, had then on board a number of caulkers and painters, preparing her for sea, and they were detained, and obliged to proceed with the vessel to St. Helens.

Captain Thesiger, afterwards Sir Frederick Thesiger,[2] was introduced to Lord Nelson, and recommended by the Earl of St. Vincent in the following letter:—

"My dear Lord,

"Permit me to introduce Captain Thesiger to your acquaintance and good offices. He is an officer of great merit, and has distinguished himself both in our service and that of Russia, and you will have the goodness either to receive him into the St. George, or order him to be properly attended to in any other ship of the squadron now at Spithead. Captain Cuming,[3] of the Russell, will, on my account, shew

[1] Captain Edward Thornborough Parker.

[2] Captain Sir Frederick Thesiger was originally in the service of the Honourable East India Company, and afterwards entered the Navy. He served as a Lieutenant on board the Formidable, in the fleet under the command of Lord Rodney, who received him upon the recommendation of Sir Charles Douglas as a correct reporter of signals. He was therefore appointed Aide-de-camp to the Commander. He also served under Admiral Pigot, and accompanied Sir Charles Douglas to America, where he remained until the Peace in 1783. When hostilities broke out between Russia and Sweden, Captain Thesiger entered the Russian service, and fought under its flag with merited success, and was rewarded by receiving the Russian Order of St. George. He quitted the Russian service upon the death of the Empress Catherine, and arrived in England just as the Northern Confederacy began to be formed, and was sent by the Earl Spencer on board the Excellent, and introduced to Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson. In the attack on Copenhagen he was found of great service; and upon his return to England, on the establishment of peace with Denmark, was raised to the rank of Post Captain; and Sir Thomas Troubridge, when one of the Lords of the Admiralty, obtained for him the appointment of British Agent for Prisoners of War, at Portsmouth, in which office he died, August 26th, 1805.

[3] William Cuming, a native of Devonshire, made Commander in 1795, and posted into the Victory by the Earl of St. Vincent, Oct. 13, 1797. He commanded the Russell in 1801, and accompanied the expedition to Copenhagen. He was afterwards placed under Sir James Saumarez and Sir Robert Calder. He was made a Rear-Admiral July 19, 1821, and died June 20, 1824.

him every possible regard; but as he is not mounted, being only an acting Captain, Tyler,[1] Foley,[2] or Fremantle,[3] will, either

[1] Sir Charles Tyler's commission as Post Captain bears date September 21, 1790; and upon the breaking out of the war in 1793, he was appointed to the Meleager, and served at Toulon, and at the reduction of Corsica. Successful in his attempts to raise the prize La Minèrve, of 40 guns, the command of that vessel was given to him, and she was named the St. Fiorenzo. In the autumn of 1794, he was removed into the Diadem, of 64 guns, and formed part of Admiral Hotham's squadron, in the partial action in 1795. In L'Aigle, in 1796, he captured many of the enemy's privateers, but being sent with dispatches to Sir Horatio Nelson at Tunis, he was wrecked, lost all his property, and sustained numerous hardships. He afterwards served in the Channel Fleet, commanding the Warrior, of 74 guns, and accompanied Sir Hyde Parker to the Baltic, and was afterwards at the blockade of Cadiz. He sailed with a squadron to the West Indies, in 1802; and upon the renewal of hostilities with France, in 1803, commanded a district of Sea Fencibles, after which he was appointed to the Tonnant, and in this vessel was severely wounded at the Battle of Trafalgar. In April, 1808, he was made a Rear-Admiral, and appointed second in command at Portsmouth. He afterwards served in the Tagus with Sir Charles Cotton; and in 1812 was made Commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope. He was made a Knight Commander of the Bath, in January, 1815, and a Knight Grand Cross of the same order in January, 1833. He died an Admiral of the White, in 1835.

[2] This officer, Nelson's Flag Captain at Copenhagen, was one of Nelson's Captains at the Battle of the Nile, and was held in great regard by his Admiral. He was a native of Pembrokeshire, and descended from the noble house of Foley. He was a Lieutenant on board the Prince George, of 98 guns, the flag-ship of Admiral Digby, when His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence was a midshipman in that ship. His commission as a Post Captain is dated September 21, 1790; and at the breaking out of the war in 1793, he commanded the St. George, the flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Gell, whom he accompanied to the Mediterranean. He was with a division of Lord Hood's fleet detached to Genoa; and upon the return of Rear-Admiral Gell to England, from ill health, Sir Hyde Parker hoisted his flag in the St. George. He was in Lord Hotham's action in 1795, and with Lord St. Vincent, February 14th, 1797, where he distinguished himself, commanding the Britannia. After this he was appointed to the Goliath, and formed part of Nelson's squadron in the Mediterranean. He led the fleet into action on the glorious 1st of August, and by his skill and intrepidity contributed greatly to the honours of that day. When Nelson left for Naples, he entrusted to Captains Foley and Hood the guarding of the coast of Egypt. Foley returned to England in 1799, was appointed to the Elephant, of 74 guns, and joined the Channel Fleet. His vessel received the flag of Lord Nelson, at the attack on Copenhagen. He returned from the Baltic with Sir Charles Pole, and the Elephant was soon after put out of commission. In October, 1807, he was made a Colonel of Marines, and he attained the rank of Rear-Admiral in April, 1808. In 1811 he was appointed Commander-in-chief in the Downs, which he held during the war. He was made a Vice-Admiral, August 12th, 1812, a Knight Commander of the Bath, January 2, 1815, and a Grand Cross of the same Order, May 6, 1820. He received Gold Medals for the battles of Cape St. Vincent and the Nile; attained the rank of Admiral of the White, and died January 9, 1833.

[3] See note, p. 99, *ante*.

of them, do the needful. That all honour and glory may attend you in this, and every other career, is the fervent wish of your very affectionate

"ST. VINCENT.

"Admiralty, February 29th, 1801."

Lord St. Vincent wrote also on the 2nd of March :—

"My dear Lord,

"Troubridge has full powers to provide for Mr. Morrison. With many thanks for the spur you have given to the movement of ships at Spithead, believe me to be,

"Yours most affectionately,

"ST. VINCENT.

"Admiralty, March 2nd, 1801."

Lord Nelson's letters to Lady Hamilton in the month of March are numerous :—

"March 1st, 1801, 8 o'clock, Morning.

"My dearest Friend,

"Fearing it may not be possible to get a boat on shore in the afternoon, as it has the appearance of blowing hard, I send this line to apprize you of it, that no little ruffle might take place in your dear, good, and exalted mind, only always rely that I will never omit an opportunity of writing; therefore, if at any time vessels should come from the fleet without letters, you may be sure that it is unknown to me, which may happen from my being detached; but I hope not from the same cause as Lord Keith's—not telling me. I must beg that my friend will not be sick, or grieve too much, for a temporary, but unavoidable absence of a few weeks. Recollect, all my exertions are to bring about a peace. You read, of course, my brother's letter; and if you like to have Mrs. Nelson up, say that I will pay their lodgings, and then you can have as much of her company as you please; but Reverend Sir you will find a great bore at times, therefore he ought to amuse himself all the mornings, and not always to dine with you, as Sir William may not like it. They can twice or thrice a week have a beef steak at home, for some people may say bye and bye that Sir William maintains the family of the Nelsons, which would vex me. I am brushing

these folks up, and I do not find that activity which my mind carries with it. It would not be possible, I fear, for you and Sir William, to give me a visit at Yarmouth; it should be no expense to him. To-morrow, if we can get our ship's company paid to-day, we are off for the Downs.

"Ever yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"St. George, thick fog off Dungeness, 8 in the Morning.
March 3rd, 1801.

"My dearest Friend, the fog has been so very thick since our sailing yesterday noon, that it may truly be said we have got thus far blindfolded; and if it continues, I fear we shall not be able to get into the Downs this day, and I shall be deprived of my greatest pleasure, the receiving of your kind and affectionate letters. This expedition cannot last more than two months, therefore 'Cheer up, fair Emma.'[1] I have got on board a Colonel Stewart, brother to Lord Garlies, a very good active young man. He commands the corps of troops we have on board. I have also a Captain Thesiger on board; he was in the Russian service, and is now a volunteer.

"*Eleven o'clock.* I have wrote to my brother about Mrs. Nelson's coming to London, and that I will willingly pay the expense, therefore, I am sure, if you like to ask her, she will take her old lodgings, and be happy to be with you. She can walk without *fear* of being run away with, and I have recommended my brother to amuse himself in the mornings, and to dine at home two or three times a week.

"*Two o'clock.* Can just see the land, and expect to be at an anchor by three, when Hardy goes on shore with my excuses to the Admiral. I hope to sail at day-light in the morning for Yarmouth, and to be there on Thursday. I must be upon deck, but ever yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"*Half-past two.* Just anchored, and as probably I shall not be able to send again on shore, Hardy carries this."

[1] An allusion to Miss Knight's song. See Supplementary Chapter.

"St. George, March 4th, 1801.

"My dear Lady,

"Do try and persuade Sir William to come with you, and make me a visit. The change of air will do you good, and I will try to make it pleasant to you both. We will have none but sailors near us. Tyler's ship has been foolishly ashore all night, but she is afloat again. Do pray, for charity's sake, come and see your old and attached friend,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"Just getting under sail, shall be at Yarmouth, I hope, to-morrow night."

"St. George at sea, March 6th, 1801.

"My dearest Friend, how tiresome and alone I feel at not having the pleasure of receiving your dear, kind, friendly, and intelligent letters. I literally feel as a fish out of water. Calms and foul winds have already prolonged our passage, from what is often done in fourteen hours to three days, and yet no appearance of our arrival this day. It now snows and rains, and nearly calm. All day yesterday I was employed about a very necessary thing; and I assure you it gave me pleasure, instead of pain, the reflection that I was providing for a dear friend. I have given you, by will, £3000., and three diamond boxes, and the King of Naples's picture in trust, to be at your disposal, so that it is absolutely your own. By the codicil, I have given you the money owing me by Sir William, likewise in trust. The trustees are, Mr. Ryder, a very eminent law man, and Mr. Davison; they will be my executors. If you like any body else, say so, and it shall be done. The star I have given you to wear for my sake. You must not think, my dearest friend, that this necessary act hastens our departure, but it is a right and proper measure.

"*Half-past eight.* Just anchored in the sea, thick as mud.

"*Noon.* Under sail, steering for Yarmouth, but cannot arrive before 5 o'clock.

"*Three o'clock* Sight of Yarmouth.

"Yours,

"N. & B.

"I am wet through and cold."

"10 o'clock, March 6th, 1801, at night.

"My dearest Friend,

"I have received, I dare say, all your kind letters and newspapers. No one else sends me any thing. I am sorry you are not well, nor can my mind be at rest, although I am obliged to keep up an appearance of alacrity. Nothing shall make me go on shore to any amusement or dinner. In the morning, if very fine, I shall go to make my bow to the Commander-in-chief, but have asked some sailor folks to dinner. Our expedition must be very short. I don't think at most more than six weeks, probably not half so long. And if necessity should call me to England, I will come directly. I hope Mrs. Nelson will soon be with you; write to her, she will come. I have just received a letter from my brother to say he will be at Yarmouth on Monday, then I will make a point of it. Lord St. Vincent, I see, has carried his false suit against his own Secretary, and I suppose I shall be cast, but try it I will. How infamous against poor Nelson! every body, except you, tears him to pieces, nor has he but only you, as a disinterested friend, that he can unbosom to.

"Just going to bed with much rheumatism,

"Ever yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"*March 7.* I am just going on shore with Hardy to pay my formal visit, therefore I carry these letters. I hope Sir Hyde will be pushed on to sail. The sooner we go the less resistance, and, oh heavens grant it, the sooner I, your Nelson, will return."

"St. George, March 7th, 9 o'clock.

"Never, my dearest friend, say, 'do my letters bore you?'—no, they are the comfort of my life, the only real comfort I feel. I received your affectionate letter by Davison, and the profile. He said, you would give him another; do, if you please, for he knows well our attachment, and he did a thing to-day which pleased me, as he knew how it would distress me even to be on board when his wife came to visit the ship. He told me he had told her, for which she has brought some Miss with her, that it must not interfere in his visit to me,

and that she must not ask to come on board the St. George. He dined here to-day, and Hardy took me aside to say that Davison had asked him to take his wife and Miss to see one of the ships, and as I had promised Davison to take a walk with him in the morning to stretch my legs, I desired Hardy to take a boat, fetch her afloat, shew her the St. George, and land them again. I could not do less, and I hope you think so. Davison said, 'I know your determination about women, therefore I would not ask the favour of you.' Sir Hyde wanted me to dine with him to-day or to-morrow—my answer was, 'My ship is my home.' Kiss my god-child for me, and ever believe me,

"Yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTE."

"Shall I offer Sir William a sum of money for Madame Le Brun's picture of you?[1] But I fear he would think it a rub off like Mr. Beckford, but I would explain that to him, as I would not take such a dirty method of being paid. By what waggon did you send the china? Yesterday I tasted, for the first time, your cordials—the very finest noyeau—I told Davison I opened it for him as he was a particular friend. I am going to call on the Mayor, that is right. Admiral Dickson[2] has bought an estate in Norfolk, I have not yet seen him.

"N. & B."

[1] A copy of this picture in enamel by Bone was bequeathed by Sir William Hamilton to Lord Nelson. It is now in the possession of Lord Northwick, who informs me that Sir William often complained of the extravagant price he had paid to the French lady for her portrait, and also of Emma's scruples on having afterwards prevailed upon her to clothe her fine form under a tiger's skin, which not only spoilt the picture, but was the dearest skin he had ever heard of, *as it cost him* £100!

[2] Admiral William Dickson entered the Navy at an early age, and was made a Lieutenant, December 31, 1755. He was made a Post Captain, May 2, 1766, appointed to the Jersey, 60 guns, and placed in the Mediterranean station. In 1777 he commanded the Greyhound frigate, and served on the American station, after which he went to the West Indies, and returned in 1781. He afterwards was appointed to the Sampson, and to the Standard, the latter a guardship at Plymouth. On the 1st of February, 1793, he was made a Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and on the 12th of April, 1794, of the White, and in July following Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and in June, 1795, of the White. He was raised to the rank of full Admiral, February 14, 1799, and succeeded Lord Duncan as Commander-in-chief of the North Sea fleet. He died at Norwich in 1803.

"My dear Friend,

"I have wrote a letter to Sir William. Reports say we are to sail on Friday. May God [send] us soon back and victorious, then how happy we shall be.

"Yours,

"N. & B."

"St. George, March 10th, 1801.

"Your letter, my dearest Friend, of yesterday, that is of Sunday, gave me infinite satisfaction. The Commander-in-chief has his orders, but I dare say it will be two or three days before he is off. I long to go that I may the sooner return. Troubridge will, I am sure, take care of all our packets, only every day or two make newspapers, letters, &c. in one packet, for the more packages, the more liable to be lost, and I would not have a line of yours lost. What can Sir William mean by wanting you to launch out into expense and extravagance? He that used to think that a little candle-light, and iced water would ruin him, to want to set off at £10,000. a year, for a less sum would not afford concerts and the style of living equal to it. Suppose you had set off in this way, what would he not have said? My brother and Mr. Rolfe, a cousin of mine, are on board—the former is prying, and a little of a bore. I suppose I shall lose my cause against Lord St. Vincent, I have only *justice, honour, and the custom of the service* on my side; he has *partiality, power, money, and rascality* on his, but we are good friends, and I have the highest opinion of his Naval ability. You know, my dear Emma, that I would not detract from the merit of my greatest enemies. No, I am above that. You will have Mrs. Nelson with you. She will be company, and the little woman's tongue never lays still—she is a cheerful companion. You cannot write me too much, or too particularly.

"Yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"St. George, March 11th, 1801.

"My dearest Friend,

"After the receipt of this letter you must send me no more

letters but through Troubridge, for I suppose we shall be off on Friday at furthest. Soon, very soon, I hope to return. You say, my dear friend, why don't I put my Chief forward? He has put me in front of the battle, and *Nelson will be first.* I could say much, but I will not make your dear mind uneasy; the St. George will stamp an additional ray of glory to England's fame if your Nelson survives, and that Almighty Providence, who has hitherto protected me in all dangers, and covered my head in the day of battle, will still, if it be his pleasure, support and assist me. In spite of all malice, every thing relative to the god-child I leave to your management, and in perfect confidence in your goodness—therefore my mind is easy about her.

"N. & B."[1]

"St. George, 9 o'clock, 11th March.

"My dearest friend,

"I am glad Mrs. Nelson is with you; say how much I am obliged. I have directed, this night, Davison to give her £100. to pay expenses. Pray what has Christie done about your picture? I have no letter from him. How can any man sell your resemblance? To buy it many would fly. As for the original no price is adequate to her merits, those of her dear mind and heart, if possible, exceed her beauty. My brother is gone on shore, and if the weather is moderate, we are off at daylight. Unless vessels are left by Sir Hyde Parker, I have directed all my letters to be returned to No. 23, Piccadilly, so take care they get into your possession.

"N. & B."

The following is from Sir William Hamilton:—

"Piccadilly, 12th March, 1801.

"My dear Lord,

"A thousand thanks for your kind letter which I received yesterday, and which I immediately committed to the flames, for although I agree perfectly with your Lordship in opinion

[1] This letter has been imperfectly printed in the Collection of Letters, Vol. i. p. 32, and also by Sir N. H. Nicolas in the Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iv. p. 291.

as to the character of the person who was the chief subject of your letter, I would not have it fall into other hands by any accident. Mons. Gleichen, the Danish Minister, was at Paris, and a chattering lady was impudent enough to say to him in company at table: 'Mons. Gleichen on dit que votre Roi est *une Tête,*' a *head,* but a wrong one, according to the French expression, and he answered very properly in two words, '*Couronnée, Madame.*'

"After having assured you that Emma is growing better in health every day, I shall refer you as to the small talk of the town to her letter. According to the best of my information, the King is really recovered, but in a very weak state, but going to-day or to-morrow to Kew or Windsor for the air. Mr. Swinburn has just left me, and told me that his friend, Mr. Pelham, had seen the King, found him quite composed, but very pale and feeble. The opposite party, that would set us all in confusion, still insist that he is out of his senses, and incapable as a child of any business. To be sure the physicians will take care not to let him be loaded with too much at present; but I have no doubt of his being able, and that he will sign what is necessary, and before competent witnesses, to carry on the affairs of State, and probably appoint a sort of Commission to pass Bills, &c. until he recovers strength to do it himself. I rejoice with you that things have taken this turn. The King has not yet seen the Prince, nay, refused to see him yet, although he has seen some of his brothers, the Dukes of York and Kent, who are said to be quite in opposition to the Prince. I believe your Lordship may depend upon all I have written upon this most interesting subject.

"It is quite beyond all expectation that I have found so many of my fine vases: fortunately some cases of the worst were taken by mistake on board the Colossus, where I thought the eight best cases were gone. I flatter myself my ministerial business was finished by the late Ministers, and although I have been advised to apply to Lord Hawkesbury, I certainly will not until I am certain that Lord Grenville had not finished my business as he promised. Adieu, my very dear Lord. We rejoiced to hear from Davison that your health was so good when he left you. God send you a continuance

of it, and of every success, and bring you back safe to your friends, who know your value. Your Lordship's ever obliged and attached friend,

"WM. HAMILTON."

To Lady Hamilton Nelson again writes:—

"St. George, March 13th, 1801.

"My dearest Friend,

"I see, I feel what the call of duty to our country makes me suffer, but we must recollect, which is the only comfort I can know, the reflection at some future day of what we have both suffered in the cause of our country. You have sent your dearest friend, and I have left mine. The conduct of the Roman matron: *Return with your shield or upon it;* so it shall be my study to distinguish myself, that your heart shall leap for joy when my name is mentioned. I know, I see, that I am not to be supported in the way I ought, but the St. George is beginning to prepare this day for battle, and she shall be true to herself. Murray,[1] who fortunately

[1] Captain George Murray, a native of Chichester, descended from an honourable family, entered the Navy, at eleven years of age, in the Niger, under Captain Francis Banks, with whom he sailed in the Mediterranean. He was afterwards with Admiral Ommaney on the Newfoundland station, and in the American war put under the command of Sir Peter Parker in the Bristol. In this vessel he had abundant opportunities for the display of his bravery. He was in the encounter between Lord Howe and Count d'Estaing. Neglected by Lord Howe upon his return to England, but protected by Admiral Montague, Lord Sandwich promoted him to be Lieutenant, and he was appointed to the Arethusa, which was wrecked off Ushant in 1779. He was made prisoner of war, and taken into France. Being exchanged, he was, in 1781, appointed as First Lieutenant to the Monmouth, of 64 guns, and sailed with Captain Alms in an expedition under Commodore Johnstone to the Cape of Good Hope and the East Indies. He was engaged in the actions with Admiral Suffrein and Sir Edward Hughes, displaying the most gallant conduct. He was in consequence made a Master and Commander, and became Post Captain in 1782. At the breaking out of the war with France in 1793, he commanded the Triton, and afterwards La Nymphe, and was in Sir J. B. Warren's engagement, April 23, 1794; also with Lord Bridport off L'Orient, June 23, 1795; then with Sir John Jervis in the Mediterranean, and in the action off Cape St. Vincent, Feb. 14, 1797, being in the Colossus on that occasion, which vessel was lost in her voyage to England after the battle. Acquitted of any misconduct connected with the loss of his ship, he was now appointed to the Achille, and served in the Channel, and was afterwards engaged in sounding the Belts upon the approaching rupture with Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. Removed into the Edgar, under Lord Nelson, he led the van of the fleet into action at Copenhagen. His conduct on this occasion secured for him the

joined since we sailed, is my supporter, and desires me to tell you that he never will desert me. He sees, as do every one, what is meant to disgrace me, but that is impossible. Even the Captain of the Fleet sent me word that it was not his doing, for that Sir Hyde Parker had run his pen through all that could do me credit, or give me support; but never mind, Nelson will be first if he lives, and you shall partake of all his glory. Our breeze is fresh, what our Neapolitan Princesses would say fresh gales. But quick, quick, quick, and let Nelson return.

March 14*th.* Both yesterday and to-day six years I was in action in the Agamemnon.

March 16*th.* All yesterday was such a dreadful nasty day —snow, frost, sleet, strong breezes, that I could not put pen to paper. Before you receive this all will be over with Denmark—either your Nelson will be safe, and Sir Hyde Parker a victor, or he, your own Nelson, will be laid low. In case of the latter, I have this day added another codicil to my will, and given you my pelisse.[1] I must try and copy my will, therefore you must excuse my writing, for if any accident was to happen to the ship, I have no will but one made some years ago, when I had nothing. Well, my task is done, and

affectionate regard and esteem of his Commander. In 1803 he was again with Nelson at his own request, and as Captain of the Fleet. Murray had scruples in accepting this honourable post, as the nature of the service frequently produced disagreement between the Admiral and Captain, and he was unwilling to hazard any thing which might diminish the regard and respect he entertained for Lord Nelson. The Admiral coincided with his Captain in opinion, but assured him that on whatever service he might be called, or whatever measure he might be directed to carry into execution, he never should forget the intimacy which subsisted between them; and even, should anything go contrary to his wishes, he would wave the rank of *Admiral*, and explain, or expostulate with him as his *Friend* Murray. His Lordship also desired that the same frankness of conduct might be shewn towards him, as *Nelson*, and not as the Commander-in-chief (Naval Chronicle, Vol. xviii. p. 189). Upon his return to England in 1804, Captain Murray was raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and in 1805 to that of the White. The death of his father-in-law compelled Murray to be absent from Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar; he afterwards took the command of a fleet at Monte Video. He attained the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Red, was a Knight Commander of the Bath from January 1815, and died at Chichester, February 28, 1819, aged 60 years.

[2] Presented to him by the Grand Signior.

I shall inclose the original and send it to the care of Mr. Davison by the first opportunity, and I shall send this letter on board the London, that it may go when any vessel goes for England, for I do not expect to be told any more than Lord Keith told me. I know nothing but by common report, Sir Hyde has not told me officially a thing. I am sorry enough to be sent on such an expedition, but nothing can, I trust, degrade, do what they will; reports say we are to anchor before we get to Cronenburg Castle,[1] that our Minister at Copenhagen may negotiate. What nonsense. How much better could we negotiate was our fleet off Copenhagen, and the Danish Minister would seriously reflect how he brought the fire of England on his Master's fleet and capital; but to keep us out of sight is to seduce Denmark into a war, which I, as an Englishman, wish to prevent, by making that coxcomb Prince see our machines; every good in the cause of humanity, and of honour to our country must arise by spirited conduct, and every ill to both from our delicacy. If they are the plans of Ministers, they are weak in the extreme, and very different to what I understood from Mr. Pitt. If they originate with Sir Hyde, it makes him, in my mind, as —— but never mind, your Nelson's plans are bold and decisive—all on the great scale. I hate your pen and ink men; a fleet of British ships of war are the best negotiators in Europe, they always speak to be understood, and generally gain their point, their arguments carry conviction to the breasts of our enemies.

"Yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"Wednesday night or Thursday we shall be off Copenhagen if *we* please. As I said eight days and all will be finished, but it was my way and not his."

[1] Nelson, in a letter to A. Davison, Esq. expresses the same opinion, though in a somewhat different manner: "I hear we are likely to anchor outside Cronenburg Castle, instead of Copenhagen, which would give weight to our negotiation: a Danish Minister would think twice before he would put his name to war with England, when the next moment he would probably see his Master's fleet in flames, and his capital in ruins; but 'out of sight out of mind' is an old saying. The Dane should see our flag waving every moment he lifted up his head."

"March 17th, 1801.

"My dearest Friend,

"I send you a memorandum of what I have given you. I have had no communication yet with my Commander-in-chief. Lord Spencer placed him here, and has completely thrown me in the background—that Lord St. Vincent writes Admiral Dickson, so now I guess that Lord St. Vincent recommended Sir Hyde Parker in the strongest manner, because he wanted to get rid of him. They all hate me and treat me ill. I cannot, my dear friend, recall to my mind any one real act of kindness, but all of unkindness. But never mind, we will be happy in spite of all they can do, if it pleases God. Why we are not this day off Copenhagen I cannot guess—our wind is fair, but a frigate is just sent away by the Commander-in-chief, perhaps to say we are coming, that they may be prepared, or to attempt to frighten at a distance—paltry the last, and foolish the first—but mine is all guess. I have not communicated with a creature out of the ship since I left Yarmouth, *they see*, I suppose, it is not for their interest.

"Yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"St. George, off the Scaw, March 19th, 1801.

"My dearest Friend,

"I have bought your picture,[1] for I could not bear it should be put up at auction, and if it had cost me 300 drops of blood I would have given it with pleasure. I think the picture had better be delivered to Mr. Davison packed up, and I have charged him not to mention it, or to shew it to any soul breathing. I design it always to hang in my bed-chamber, and if I die it is yours. After we get into the Baltic it may be very dangerous writing, for if the vessel is taken, which is very probable, my correspondence will certainly be published, therefore I shall never sign my name in future. Heavens bless you. Send my letter and order to Mr. Christie[2] directly.

[1] By Madame Le Brun.

[2] The respected auctioneer in King Street, St. James's.

The following is from the Rev. William Nelson:—

"Hilborough, near Brandon, March 19th, 1801.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"There is only *one* person and one thing *we* can all think of at present, and we must heartily pray God to receive him into His gracious and Almighty protection, to preserve him, as He has hitherto done, from the perils of the seas, and from the efforts of the enemy, that he may return in safety to enjoy the blessings of his native land.

"I am in great hopes the Danes will give in without a battle, there was such a report brought to me to-day, which it seems came from Yarmouth, that a cutter had been dispatched to recall the fleet. I dare say there was no foundation for it, though I should not be very much surprised at it, as my brother told me there was certainly a party in this country which wished to prevent its sailing at all, and wanted to try conciliatory measures once more. 'Tis all one to me what they do, provided our great Hero returns safe.

"I beg to return your Ladyship my best thanks for your intention of speaking to Mr. Greville[1] and the Bishop in my favour. You will write to me the moment you have any news from the fleet. I will write to Mrs. Nelson to-morrow. I beg my compliments to Sir William, and I am your ever affectionate and faithful friend,

"W. NELSON."

It is reported that prior to Lord Nelson's departure for Copenhagen, while at the house of Mr. Alexander Davison, in St. James's Square, transacting his own private affairs, he alluded to what he knew he would do, had he the chief command on this occasion, and observing that his knowledge of the Cattegat was rather imperfect, he desired a chart to be sent for from Faden's at Charing Cross. This done, he observed that Government could spare only twelve ships for the purpose, and after examining the Chart a very few minutes, he marked upon it the situation for those twelve ships, exactly as they were afterwards placed on that memorable occasion. This anecdote is given, upon the authority of Mr. Davison,

[1] The Hon. C. F. Greville, Sir William Hamilton's nephew.

as a proof of Nelson's wonderful promptness and decision, as well as of his ardent zeal for the service of his country.

To Lady Hamilton again :—

"My dearest Friend, we are now eighteen miles from Cronenburg Castle, and if the wind is fair to-morrow, and the Danes hostile, you shall have more reason than ever to glory in the name of your ever faithful friend,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"8 o'clock, March 20th, 1801.

"Best remembrances to Sir William and all friends."

"St. George, at Anchor, 18 miles from Cronenburg, March 21, 1801.

"My dearest Friend, the wind and weather prevents us from giving peace to Denmark for one day, which I am sorry for, as the coxcomb Prince wants to be brought to his senses, and to the true interest of his country. If the neutrality was acknowledged by us, as they wish it, Denmark would have much less trade with any trading Powers than at present; Russian, Prussian, Imperial, even Neapolitan flags would be used, and Denmark, from having at this time half the trade of France, would be reduced to a sixth part of it, therefore, it is really a great advantage to Denmark to abandon the wishes of Russia, and to try to lower her naval power in the Baltic. If she does not, in a very few years the Baltic will change its name to the Russian Sea. Suppose this Prince is obstinate, and says, 'War with England, let us lower her,' (and, of course, aggrandise Russia), a moment's reflection, (if, indeed, he is capable of reflecting, which I doubt, for I have seen him—he is very like Prince Esterhazy's son, that is, he was twenty years back), would tell him, 'I lose all my possessions in the East and West Indies, all my subjects' property to an immense amount, my subjects can have no trade. What will Russia lose? *nothing*. What can I gain? *only* a name in having assisted in *lowering* the pride of England, and do I not at the same moment raise the pride of Russia?' *Yes*, but I will for a moment suppose this gentleman-fool still violent. 'Oh, if we beat England, she shall repay all

the value of our ships, colonies, and expenses.' Suppose, Mr. Foolham, you and your dirty tribe beat England, where the devil do you think we can find money to pay you. Our seamen will spew it up to please you. *Yes, Yes,* the only chance of getting money from England is to let her be successful, then some day we may save you from Russia. Will that Power allow you to cramp her trade with Sound Dues, which you claim as masters of that narrow sea, yet at the same moment you want to lower and to take away the rights of England as sovereign of *her seas?* However, I will suppose you as victorious as your most sanguine hopes could wish you; you will have lost perhaps a million sterling, you will have not one-fourth of the trade you had before this *glorious* campaign, you will lose your great revenue, for, farewell Sound Dues, and will you, Mr. Prince, have gained any thing but real enemies? As Paddy says, you will have gained a *loss,* and such a loss as must *lose* your country. These ideas, my sensible friend, the vicinity of Denmark naturally gives rise to, and I let them out to you as one of the most sensible women of the age, and if I was to add, of men too, I should be more correct. You will not, my dear friend, at this moment, consider these true thoughts of your worth can be with a view of adulation, for it is very possible they may be the last words ever wrote to you by your old, faithful, and most affectionate friend, till death,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

"Your heart, my friend, may feel too much on reading this. Pray do not let it, for my mind is tranquil and calm, ready and willing to stand in the breach to defend my country, and to risk whatever fate may await me in that post of honour, but never mind, perhaps I may laughing come back, God's will be done. Amen, Amen."

"St. George, March 23, 1801.

"My dearest friend,

"Now we are sure of fighting. I am sent for. When it was a joke I was kept in the background; to-morrow will I hope be a proud day for England—to have it so, no exertion shall be wanting from your most attached and affectionate friend, till death,

"NELSON AND BRONTÉ."

"Elephant, at anchor 6 miles from Cronenburg,
"March 26th, 1801.

"My dearest Friend, this afternoon I left the St. George for a few days, as she draws too much water for the service it is intended I should perform, and our friend Foley has been so good as to receive me for a few days. I have the faithful representation of you with me, for as I cannot have the pleasure of looking at the original, it makes me happy even looking at the picture of the very dearest and best friend I have in the world. You know I am more bigoted to your picture than ever a Neapolitan was to St. Januarius, and look upon you as my guardian angel, and God, I trust, will make you so to me. His will be done. Sir Hyde Parker has by this time found out the worth of your Nelson, and that he is a useful sort of man on a pinch; therefore, if he ever has thought unkindly of me, I freely forgive him. Nelson must stand amongst the first, or he must fall. I have received, my dear good amiable friend, all your letters, except those by the Parson (his brother), up to the 18th, and I received those which arrived at Yarmouth after I sailed. Such friendly letters I always burn, although it goes to my heart. We are waiting for a wind to pass Cronenburg. I long for it to arrive, for the sooner this business is over the sooner we shall meet.

"*March 28th.*—You will get all my letters by the Kite, who carried over Mr. Vansittart, they are all under cover to Sir Thomas Troubridge. I wrote you the night before we sailed, likewise under cover to Troubridge, but being obliged put the packet on board the Agincourt, Captain Ryves.[1]

[1] George Frederick Ryves was a native of Dorsetshire, and descended from a family that had sustained great losses by their adherence to the Stuarts. He was born September 8, 1758, and educated at Harrow School. In 1774 he entered the Navy as a Midshipman in the Kent, of 74 guns, commanded by the Hon. Charles Fielding. He commanded a tender in the West Indies at the commencement of the American War, and took many prizes, and afterwards served as a Lieutenant in the flag-ship of Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, the Europe, of 64 guns. He nearly suffered shipwreck in the Pacific store-ship, on her way to Long Island, and was, in 1780, placed in the Fox frigate as First Lieutenant, and served on the Jamaica station. At the Peace, he made a tour in France, Switzerland, &c. In 1788 he was appointed to the Aurora, and in 1795 to the Arethusa, and cruised on the coast of France. In this year he was made a Commander, appointed to the Bull Dog, went to the West Indies, and distinguished himself at the

In the packet was a letter for Mr. Davison, desiring him to send to Mrs. Nelson £100.

"I would not have our good friend Lord William [Gordon] in too great a hurry with his songs; I beg we may deserve them first. We have the mortification to want a wind. We see the Danes amusing themselves with preparations to resist us, but with God's blessing, the devil himself cannot stop us.

"*March 30th, half-past five.*—The fleet is now under sail, steering for Cronenburg. I have this moment made the signal for my division, ten sail of the line, and if old *Stricker*, for that is the Governor's name, attempts to *strike* me, I shall try who can *strike* the hardest blow. Your friend Nelson will acquit himself as he has been used to do, and the blessing of God will attend him. To Him do I submit myself in the day of battle, and he has hitherto always supported me.

"There is a little boy that you begged Foley to take; he was in the Lion, but for drawing a knife was dismissed from her. I have made him come into the cabin, down on his knees, touch your picture with his hand and then kiss it, a Neapolitan custom.

"I have hardly time to tell you that the Aide-de-camp of the Prince Royal of Denmark has been on board Sir Hyde Parker, a young coxcomb, about 23. In writing a note in the Admiral's cabin, the pen was bad. He called out, "Admiral, if your guns are no better than your pens, you may as well return to England.' On asking who commanded the different ships, among others he was told Lord Nelson, he exclaimed, 'What is he here, I would give a hundred guineas to see him; then I suppose it is no joke if he is come.' He

taking of St. Lucia. In 1798 he was advanced to Post rank, and appointed to the Medea frigate, and in 1800 to the Agincourt of 64 guns, with Sir Charles M. Pole. Upon his return from Newfoundland he took General Graham to Egypt, and was presented with the Gold Medal of the Order of the Crescent by the Grand Signior. He was with Lord Keith at the taking of Corfu, and then proceeded to the Madalena islands, of which he made a survey without assistance. In 1803 he was appointed to the Gibraltar and sent to Naples to attend upon the King. His MS. chart of the Madalena and Barelino islands was presented to Lord Nelson, who gratefully acknowledged its accuracy. Paid off in 1804 he did not obtain further employment until 1810, when he was put on the Baltic station in the Africa of 64 guns, and blockaded Copenhagen. After this he was put on half-pay, and having attained the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue, he died May 20th, 1826.

said, 'Aye, you will pass Cronenburg, that we expect, but we are well prepared at Copenhagen, there you will find a hard nut to crack.' I must have done, for breakfast is waiting, and I never give up a meal for a little fighting.

"Yours,

"NELSON AND BRONTE."

Monarch .	Mosse.
Bellona . .	Thompson.
Elephant .	Foley.
Ardent . .	Bertie.
Isis . .	Walker.
Polyphemus .	Lawford.
Agamemnon .	Farncomb.
Defiance . .	Rear-Admiral Graves, Capt. Retalick.
Russell . .	Cuming.
Glatton . .	Bligh.

The Rev. William Nelson again writes to Lady Hamilton :—

"Hilborough, March 27th, 1801.

"My dear Lady Hamilton,

"I have this moment received your bit of paper, and also the miserable little morsel of my better half, and I may well say, pshaw! but as I am a poor forlorn hermit, I must even take what the charitable and humane will bestow upon me, and as you are so good as to give me something every day, I must not repine, but look forward to the happy day when my penance and pilgrimage will be at an end, when I shall make up for all my present mortifications during my widowhood. As this is Friday, I am now going to church to pray for you all, and also for the safety of our much loved Hero and Lord. I shall be heartily glad whenever we can say *peace*, and our great Lord safe home; I hope the treaty between France and Naples, will not affect his property and title at Bronté.

"Just returned from church, and I have read over your yesterday's and to-day's letter twenty times, and the more I read the more I admire your whole conduct; how amiable does your attention to good Sir William appear, no words can do justice to your merit, but he deserves every thing from you, and I am sure he feels your love and attention to him, as he ought; I shall be most happy to shake

him by the hand. Pray God when we meet it may be with cheerful hearts for the welfare of our great hero. If he comes home safe this time, I sincerely hope he will give it up, unless he can have the chief command where he likes, I would have him second to none. Adieu. God bless and prosper you, is the fervent prayer of your

"Sincere and affectionate friend,

"WILLIAM NELSON."

The last letter, previous to the Battle of Copenhagen, is as follows:—

"Elephant, March 30th, off Copenhagen,
"9 o'clock at Night.

"My dearest Friend,

"We this morning passed the fancied tremendous fortress of Cronenburg, mounted with 270 pieces of cannon. More powder and shot, I believe, never were thrown away, for not one shot struck a single ship of the British fleet. Some of our ships fired; but the Elephant did not return a single shot. I hope to reserve them for a better occasion. I have just been reconnoitring the Danish line of defence. It looks formidable to those who are children at war, but to my judgment, with ten sail of the line I think I can annihilate them; at all events, I hope to be allowed to try. I am not very well, and tired, but Foley is very good to me. I have much to do here, exactly what you said in London. May God, whom I worship, protect and send me victorious. Amen, if it be His good pleasure. May the Heavens bless you. My best regards to Sir William. I hope his pictures have sold well. Recommend to Lord William not to make *songs* about *us*, for fear *we* should not deserve his good opinion. Once more, adieu, and may God bless you shall be my last word."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

BATTLE OF THE NILE.

Translation of the Account of the Battle of the Nile written by the Adjutant of the French Rear-Admiral Blanquet.

THE first day of August, 1798, wind N.N.W. light breezes and fair weather; the 2nd division of the fleet sent a party of men on shore to dig wells; and every ship in the fleet sent 25 men, to protect the workmen from the continual attacks of the Bedouins, and vagabonds of the Egyptian country. At 2 P.M. the Heureux made the signal for 12 sail W.N.W. which we could easily distinguish from the mast-heads to be ships of war; the signal was then made for all the boats, workmen, and guards to repair on board their ships, which was only obeyed by a few: at 3 o'clock, the Admiral not having any doubt but that the ships in sight were the enemy, ordered the hammocks to be stowed for action, and directed the Alert and Railleur brigs of war to reconnoitre the enemy, which we soon perceived were steering for Bequier Bay, under a crowd of canvass, but without observing any order of sailing: at 4 o'clock we saw over Port Aboukir two ships,[1] apparently waiting to join the squadron; without doubt they had been sent to look into the port of Alexandria; we likewise saw a brig with the 12 sail, so they were now 14 sail and a brig. The Alert then began to put the Admiral's orders into execution; *viz.* to stand towards the enemy until nearly within gun-shot; then to manœuvre, and endeavour to draw them towards the outer shoal, lying off the island; but the English Admiral had, no doubt, experienced pilots on board, as he did not pay any attention to the brig's track, but allowed her to go away, hauling well round all the danger. At this time a small country boat, dispatched from Alexandria to Rosetta, voluntarily bore down to the English brig, which took possession of her, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the Alert to prevent it, by firing a great many shot at the boat. At 5 o'clock the enemy

[1] These were the Alexander and Swiftsure.

came to the wind in succession; this manœuvre convinced us they intended attacking us that evening. The Admiral got the top-gallant-yard across, but soon after made the signal that he intended engaging the enemy at anchor; convinced, without a doubt, that he had not seamen enough for engaging under sail (for he wanted at least 200 good seamen for each ship); after this signal, each ought to have sent a stream cable to the ship astern of her, and to have made a hawser fast to the cable, about 20 fathoms in the water, and passed on the opposite to that intended as a spring; this was not generally executed: orders were then given to let go another bower anchor; and the broadsides of the ships were then brought to bear upon the enemy, having the ships' heads N.E. from the island of Bequier, forming a line about 1300 fathoms N.W. and S.E. each with an anchor out S.S.E.; ¼ past 5 o'clock, one of the enemy's ships,[1] that was steering to get to windward of the head-most of the line, ran on the reef E.N.E. of the island; she had immediate assistance from the brig, and got afloat in the morning; the battery on the island opened a fire on the enemy, and their shells fell a-head of the second ship of the line; ½ past 5, the head-most ships of our line, being within gun-shot of the English, the Admiral made the signal to engage, which was not obeyed until the enemy came within pistol-shot, and just doubling us. The action then became very warm; Le Conquerant began to fire, then Le Guerrier, Le Spartiate, L'Aquilon, Le Peuple Souverain, and Le Franklin: 6 o'clock, Le Sérieuse frigate, and L'Hercule bomb, cut their cables and got under weigh, to avoid the enemy's fire; they got on shore: Le Sérieuse caught fire, and had part of her masts burnt; L'Artemise was obliged to get under weigh, and likewise got on shore; the two frigates sent their ship's company on board the different line-of-battle ships. The sloops of war, two bombs, and several transports, that were with the fleet, were more successful, as they got under weigh and reached the anchorage of Port Aboukir. All the van were attacked on both sides by the enemy, who ranged close along our line; they had each an anchor out astern, which facilitated their motions, and enabled them to place themselves in the most advantageous positions: ½ past 6, Le Franklin opened a fire from her starboard side upon the enemy; ¾ past 6, she was engaged on both sides: L'Orient, at the same time, began firing from her starboard guns; and at 7, Le Tonnant opened her fire. All the ships, from Le Guerrier to Le Tonnant, were now engaged against a superior force; this only redoubled the ardour of the French, who kept up a very heavy fire. At 8 o'clock, the ship[2]

[1] Culloden. [2] Bellerophon.

which was engaging L'Orient on the starboard quarter, notwithstanding her advantageous position, was dismasted, and so roughly treated, that she cut her cables, and drove rather far from the line; this event gave Le Franklin hopes that L'Orient would now be able to assist her, by attacking one of the ships opposed to her; but at this very moment the two ships[1] that had been observed astern of the fleet, and were quite fresh, steered right for the centre; one of them anchored on L'Orient's starboard bow, the other cut the line astern of L'Orient, and anchored on her larboard quarter; the action in this place then became very warm. Admiral de Brueys, who at this time had been slightly wounded in the head and arm, very soon received a shot in the belly, which very nearly cut him in two, he desired not to be carried below, but to be left to die on deck: he only lived a quarter of an hour. Rear-Admiral Blanquet, as well as his Aide-de-camp, were unacquainted with this melancholy event until the action was nearly over. Admiral Blanquet received a severe wound in the face, which knocked him down; he was carried off the deck senseless: ¼ past 8, Le Peuple Souverain drove to leeward of the line, and anchored a cable's length abreast of L'Orient: it was not known what unfortunate event occasioned this; the vacant space she made placed Le Franklin in a most unfortunate position, and it became very critical, from the manœuvre of one of the enemy's fresh ships,[2] which had been to the assistance of one of their ships on shore; she anchored athwart Le Franklin's bow, and commenced a very heavy raking fire: ½ past 8, the action was general, from Le Guerrier to Le Mercure.

The death of Admiral de Brueys, and the severe wounds of Admiral Blanquet, must have deeply affected the people who fought under them; but it added to their ardour for revenge, and the action continued with great obstinacy on both sides. At nine o'clock the ships in the van slackened their fire, and soon after totally ceased; and, with infinite sorrow, we supposed they had surrendered: they were dismasted soon after the action began, and so much damaged, it is to be presumed, that they could not hold out any longer against an enemy so superior, by her advantageous position, in placing several ships against one: ¼ past 9, L'Orient caught fire in the cabin, and it soon afterwards broke out upon the poop; every effort was made to extinguish it, but without effect, and very soon it was so considerable, that there were no hopes of saving the ship; ½ past 9 Citizen Gillet, Flag Captain of Le Franklin, was severely wounded, and carried off deck; ¾ past 9 the arm chest, filled with musket cartridges, blew up and set fire to several places

[1] Alexander and Swiftsure. [2] Leander.

on the poop and quarter deck, but was fortunately extinguished; her situation, however, was very desperate, surrounded by enemies, and only 80 fathoms to windward of L'Orient, entirely on fire; there could not be any expectation, but either falling a prey to the enemy or flames: 10 o'clock, the main and mizen masts fell, and all her guns on the main deck were dismounted: ½ past 10 Le Tonnant cut her cables, to avoid the fire of L'Orient. The English ship that was on L'Orient's larboard quarter, as soon as she had done firing at her, brought her broadside to bear upon Le Tonnant's bow, and kept up a very raking fire. L'Heureux and Le Mercure conceived that they ought likewise to cut their cables; this manœuvre created so much confusion amongst the rear ships, that they fired into each other, and did considerable damage. Le Tonnant anchored a-head of Le Guillaume Tell, Le Généreux, and Le Timoleon; the other two ships got on shore; the ship[1] that engaged Le Tonnant on her bow cut her cable, all her rigging and sails were cut to pieces, and she drove down and anchored astern of the English ship (Majestic) that had been engaging L'Heureux and Le Mercure, before they changed their position. Those of L'Etat Major and ship's company of L'Orient, who had escaped death, convinced of the impossibility of extinguishing the fire, which had got down to the middle gun-deck, endeavoured to save themselves. Rear-Admiral Gantheaume saved himself in a boat, and went on board the Salamine, from thence to Aboukir and Alexandria. The Adjutant-general Moutard, though badly wounded, swam to the ship[2] nearest L'Orient, which proved to be English. Commodore Casa Bianca and his son, only ten years of age, who during the action gave proofs of bravery and intelligence far above his years, were not so fortunate; they were in the water on the wreck of L'Orient's masts, not being able to swim, seeking each other, until ¾ past 10, when the ship blew up, and put an end to their hopes and fears. The explosion was dreadful, and spread the fire all round to a considerable distance; Le Franklin's decks were covered with red hot seam-pieces of timber and rope on fire; she was on fire the fourth time, but luckily got it under. Immediately after this tremendous explosion, the action ceased everywhere, and was succeeded by a most profound silence; the sky was darkened by thick clouds of black smoke, which seemed to threaten the destruction of both fleets, it was a quarter of an hour before the ships' companies recovered from the stupor they were thrown into. Towards 11 c'clock Le Franklin, anxious to preserve the trust confided to her, recommenced the action with a few of her

[1] Alexander. [2] Alexander.

lower deck guns, all the rest were dismounted; two-thirds of the ship's company were killed, and those who remained much fatigued; she was surrounded by enemy's ships, who mowed down the men every broadside: ½ past 11, leaving only three lower-deck guns that could defend the honour of the flag, it became necessary to put an end to so disproportionate a struggle, and Citizen Martinet, Captain of a frigate, ordered the colours to be struck. The action in the rear of the fleet was very trifling until ¾ past 11, when it became very warm; three of the enemy's ships were engaging them, and two very near: Le Tonnant, already badly treated, was nearest the ships engaged, returned a very brisk fire; about three o'clock in the morning she was dismasted, and obliged to cut her cables a second time, and not having any more anchors, she drove on shore. Le Guillaume Tell, Le Généreux, and Le Timoleon shifted their berths, and anchored further down out of gun-shot; those vessels were not much damaged: ½ past 3 o'clock the action ceased throughout the line. Early in the morning the frigate La Justice got under weigh, and made several small tacks to keep near Le Guillaume Tell. At 9 o'clock anchored an English ship,[1] having got under weigh, and making short tacks to prevent her getting away; at 6 o'clock two English ships[2] joined those which had been engaging the rear, and began firing on L'Heureux and Le Mercure, which were aground: the former soon struck, and the latter followed the example, as they could not bring their broadsides to bear upon the enemy: ½ past 6 o'clock the ship's crew of L'Artemise frigate quitted her, and set her on fire; at 8 o'clock, she blew up. The enemy, without doubt, had received great damage in their masts and yards, as they did not get under weigh to attack the remains of the French fleet. The French flag was flying on board four ships of the line and two frigates;[3] this division made the most of their time, and at ¾ past 10 Le Guillaume Tell, Le Généreux, La Diane, and La Justice were under weigh, and formed in line of battle; the English ship that was under sail stood towards her fleet, fearing that she might be cut off; two other enemy's ships[4] were immediately under weigh to assist her. At noon Le Timoleon, which was probably not in a state to put to sea, steered right for the shore under her foresail, and when she struck the ground her foremast fell: the French division joined the enemy's ships, which ranged along their line on opposite tacks within pistol shot, and received their broadsides, which they

[1] Zealous.

[2] Theseus and Goliath.

[3] Timoleon, Tonnant, Généreux, and Guillaume Tell, with the Diana, and La Justice.

[4] Audacious and Leander.

returned; they then each continued their route; the division was in sight at sunset: nothing remarkable happened during the night of the 2nd; on the 3rd, in the morning, the French colours were flying in Le Tonnant and Le Timoleon. The English Admiral sent a cartel to the former to know if she was struck, and on being answered in the negative, directed two ships[1] to go against her; when they got within shot of her she struck, it being impossible to defend her any longer. Le Tonnant having struck, Le Timoleon was aground too near in for any ship to approach her; in the night of the 2nd they sent the greatest part of her ship's company on shore, and at noon the next day they quitted her and set her on fire.

Thus ends the journal of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of August, which will ever be remembered with the deepest sorrow by those Frenchmen who possess good hearts, and by all those true republicans who survived this melancholy disaster.

Account of the Battle of the Nile, as given by M. Vivant Denon in his Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt :—

On the morning of the 31st of July, 1798, the French were masters of Egypt, Corfu, and Malta; thirty vessels of the line united these possessions with France, and rendered the whole one empire; England, meanwhile, was only cruising in the Mediterranean with numerous fleets, for which she could not find even provisions but with much difficulty, and at a prodigious expense.

Buonaparte, feeling all the advantage of this situation, was desirous, in order to preserve it, that the fleet should enter the port of Alexandria; he offered a reward of two thousand sequins[2] for the discovery of means of bringing this about, and a passage into the old port was found. The evil genius of France, however, advised and persuaded the Admiral to shut himself up at Aboukir, and thus, in one day, to change the result of a long series of successes.

On the afternoon of the 31st, chance led M. Denon and his companion to the convent of Aboo-mandhur, which terminates a pleasant promenade from Raschid,[3] along the borders of the Nile.

[1] Theseus and Leander.

[2] A Turkish sequin is worth about nine shillings sterling.

[3] Raschid, more commonly called Rosetta, was the prettiest town in Egypt, and a favourite place of retreat in the summer. Twenty years since it had upwards of 30,000 houses, and the remains display a superiority in their style of building. The town is now deserted and in decay.

A little farther, there is a tower of Arabic construction. It stands in the middle of a large plain; and overlooks, on the one side, a yellow desert, of vast extent, terminated by the sea. When, however, the mind is saddened by this prospect, it can sooth itself by turning to all that nature has to display, of verdure, riches and abundance; the plains of the Delta, covered with rice-fields, and sugar grounds, and intersected by innumerable canals, that terminate in the Nile, which river, at this part of its course, is always covered with barks, moving in every direction.

Arrived at this tower, they perceived, at the distance of seven leagues, twenty sail enter the bay of Aboukir. These vessels arrived, formed a line of battle, and attacked the fleet of the French, almost in the same moment. They heard the discharge of the first cannon at five o'clock. Soon after this, the smoke concealed the two fleets from their sight; but when it became dark they were able to distinguish better, though they were too far off to understand what was passing. The danger they ran of being made prisoners by the smallest party of Bedouins could not distract the anxious attention they paid to an event of so great interest. The rolling and redoubled noise of the cannon was continual; they saw that the battle was terrible; and that it was sustained on both sides with equal obstinacy. On returning to Raschid, they went on the roofs of their houses: towards ten o'clock, a strong burst of light shewed a fire to have taken place in the fleet; at the same minute a dreadful explosion ensued, and then as profound a silence. At 11 o'clock, a slow fire recommenced; at midnight, the battle was completely renewed; but at two o'clock in the morning it again ceased. At daybreak, the cannonade began once more. At nine o'clock a second vessel blew up. At ten, four ships,[1] the only ones that remained entire, which they recognised to be French, (and which at that moment they believed to be victors, because they were neither attacked nor followed) withdrew from the scene of action, under crowded sail.

M. Denon passed his time on the top of the tower of Aboo-mandhur, incessantly examining the bay with his telescope. Three days passed before he learned the real event of the first and second of August. The begaz[2] shut up, and the communication with Alexandria intercepted, at length, however, made him fully aware, that circumstances had changed against the French; that, separated from the mother country, they were become colonists, who, till

[1] Le Guillaume Tell, Le Généreux, La Diane, and La Justice.

[2] Bar of the river.

peace should arrive, were to exist by their own exertions, and by their own resources; in a word, he learned that the English fleet had doubled the French line, not sufficiently supported by the island which should have defended it; that the enemy taking the vessels of the latter one by one, by means of his double line, had rendered half its strength useless, leaving it only a spectator of the destruction of the other; that it was L'Orient which had blown up at ten o'clock, on the night of the thirty-first of July, and the Hercules which had followed the next morning; that the commanders of the ships, the William Tell, and the Generous, and of the frigates, the Diana and the Justice, seeing the rest in the power of the enemy, had taken advantage of his weariness, aud escaped. He learned, in short, that the first of August had broken the fabric of the power and glory of France; that, destroying her fleet, it had bestowed the empire of the Mediterranean on her enemies.

The situation of the French was now entirely changed. Under the possibility of being attacked, it was become necessary to prepare for defence.

Since the loss of the fleet, the troops that were at Raschid, had been scattered among castles and batteries in little garrisons; it had become necessary, in order to maintain a communication between the two cities, to establish a caravan between Alexandria and Raschid, by way of Aboukir, and soldiers were employed to protect these caravans from the Arabs; there remained, therefore, too small a number of troops at this latter place, to defend it in case of an attack. Under these circumstances, it was proposed to form a militia of the travellers, the speculators, the useless, fickle, wandering, and irresolute men who had arrived at Alexandria, or already returned from Cairo; a large list, including amphibia, who, corrupted by the campaigns of Italy, and having heard that the harvests of Egypt were the most abundant in the world, had thought that such a country must have fortunes ready made for the first possessors; epicures and debauchees who, with minds fascinated by Savary's account, had set out from Paris, in search of new pleasures at Cairo, speculators who came to supply the army, to feel the pulses of trade, and import and sell at high prices, whatever the colony could want: meanwhile, the Beys had withdrawn all their money and magnificence from Cairo; the populace had pillaged the houses; Buonaparte did not want contractors; and the merchant ships were blockaded by the English; misfortunes which, to the eyes of these travellers, threw a gloom over all Egypt.

Confounded at finding themselves prisoners, disappointed in their projects, and obliged to concur in the defence and improve-

ment of a place which they found would only promote the prosperity of the whole empire of France, they sent home the most melancholy recitals. These recitals, intercepted by the English, contributed to deceive the nation with respect to our condition. The English pleased themselves with believing that we were dying with hunger; sent back our prisoners, that they might hasten the period of our destruction; printed in their Gazettes that half our army was in the hospitals; that half the others were employed in leading the blind remainder: and all this time, Upper Egypt was supplying us with abundance of the best wheat, and the Lower with the finest rice; the sugar of the country was sold for half the price of sugar in France; the numberless herds of buffaloes, oxen, sheep and goats, as well of the cultivators as of the Arab pastors, sufficiently supplied the great increase of consumption at the very moment of the invasion, and promised abundance, and superfluity for the future; and for the luxury of the table, we could add every kind of poultry, fish, game, vegetables, and fruits. Such then were the objects of the first necessity which offered to her detractors; detractors who wanted gold to supply the illusions they had indulged, and who not finding gold, saw nothing about them but burning sands, fleas, and gnats, dogs which disturbed their sleep, intractable husbands, and veiled women, who shewed nothing but the eternal neck!

The French Dispatches alluded to by M. Denon were those from Kléber, Poussielgue, &c. which were picked up by the British, and sent to England; a duplicate reached France. M. Thiers pictures the statements made in them as gross exaggerations, the General looking at every thing in the most unfavourable aspect, whilst General Menou, on the contrary, viewed every thing in the brightest colours, and held the French to be invincible in Egypt. (See "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," Tom. ii. Liv. v. p. 15.)

No. II.

Articles of Capitulation of Malta.

ARTICLE I.—The Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem shall give up the city and forts of Malta to the French army; at the same time renouncing in favour of the French Republic all right of property and sovereignty over that island, together with those of Goza and Cumino.

Article II.—The French Republic shall employ all its credit at the Congress of Rastadt, to procure a principality for the Grand Master equivalent to the one he gives up; and the said Republic engages to pay him in the mean time an annual pension of three hundred thousand French livres, besides two annats of the pension by way of indemnification for his personals. He shall also be treated with the usual military honours during the whole of his stay in Malta.

Article III.—The French Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem actually resident in Malta, if acknowledged as such by the Commander-in-chief, shall be permitted to return to their own country, and their residence in Malta shall be considered in the same light as if they inhabited France. The French Republic will likewise use its influence with the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian Republics, that this third article may remain in force for the Knights of those several nations.

Article IV.—The French Republic shall make over an annual pension of seven hundred French livres to each Knight now resident in Malta; and one thousand livres to those whose ages exceed sixty years. It shall also endeavour to induce the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian Republics, to grant the same pension to the Knights of their respective countries.

Article V.—The French Republic shall employ its credit with the different powers, that the Knights of each nation may be allowed to exercise their right over the property of the Order of Malta situated in their dominions.

Article VI.—The Knights shall not be deprived of their private property either in Malta or in Goza.

Article VII.—The inhabitants of the islands of Malta and Goza shall be allowed, the same as before, the free exercise of the Catholic,

Apostolical, and Roman religion: their privileges and property shall likewise remain inviolate, and they shall not be subject to any extraordinary taxes.

Article VIII.—All civil acts passed during the government of the Order shall still remain valid.

Done and concluded on board the Orient, off Malta, the 24th Prairial, the 6th year of the French republic (12th June, 1798.)

The Commander BOSREDON DE RANSIJAT (who had forsaken the order).

The Bailiff MARIE TESTA FERRATA,
Doctor JEAN NIES MUSCAT,
Doctor BENOIT SCHEMBRI,
Counsellor BONANI,
} all Maltese.

The Bailiff DE TURIN FRISONI, without prejudice to the right of dominion which belongs to my Sovereign, the King of the Two Sicilies.

Chev. PHILIPPE AMAT, the Spanish Chargé-d'affaires.[1]

No. III.

TUNISIAN AFFAIRS.

IN reference to the Battle of the Nile and its effects at Tunis, Major Perkins Magra, the British Consul, addressed the following letter to Sir Horatio Nelson:—

"TO SIR HORATIO NELSON, K.B.

"Tunis, October, 1798.

"Sir,

"After congratulating you on the very splendid victory you have obtained, and the very important service you have thereby rendered to your country at this critical period of its history, I beg to acquaint you, that Captain Nisbet, with part of the crew of L'Aigle sailed hence, in a neutral vessel the beginning of last month in quest of you, since which no accounts have been received of him, though it was expected the vessel would have returned here before this.

"This Government consider England as their saviour, from a full persuasion of the intentions of the French, in the progress of their

[1] Boisgelin's History of Malta, Vol. ii. p. 94-96.

plans against them, and as interest and apprehension are the only principles that operate on their minds, it is difficult to say, whether their exasperation against them, or their present enthusiastic attachment to England is at the highest pitch. .

"A chouse arrived here a few days since with a firman from the Grand Seignior to apprise the Bey of what had passed in the East, and prepare him to follow his example towards France, having given orders to stop all their vessels and subjects in the Ottoman ports.

"As we have had no intelligence from Europe since the 17th of July, we are ignorant of the detail of your victory, and only generally know, by the Turkish couriers, that you have taken and destroyed the whole of the French squadron. They also state that Buonaparte's army has been entirely cut off; but of this we are in hourly expectation of the particulars, as an express by dromedaries has been established to Alexandria, and they will perform the journey in ten or twelve days.

"As you will certainly be in possession of better and more detailed information, than I can have the honour to offer to you, of the present situation of Malta, and of the desire of the inhabitants, to throw that island into the hands of Great Britain, I shall limit myself to mentioning, that they have sent several persons here, to negotiate for provisions, having nothing left but wheat and oil, and are entirely without fuel, but they have not succeeded in getting relief from the Bey.

"P. M."

This letter was succeeded by several others giving to Nelson much information, of which it will be seen he availed himself, to the honour and advantage of his country.

"TO ADMIRAL SIR HORATIO NELSON.

"Tunis, 27th November, 1798.

"Sir,

"Rais Azis, Captain of a cruiser in the Bey's service, was sent three or four months since with the passports of the different Consuls to bring away from Malta a xebeque that had been taken from this State by the Maltese and repurchased. On his return here a few days since, he acquainted the Bey, that in coming out of Malta he was brought to by an English man-of-war, and when carried on board the flag-ship, that the Admiral spit in his face, abused him, took his koran from his cincture, after which he was sent forward, where he was nearlys tarved, and even refused water—that a person who brought him a drink was punished for so doing. That on his

representing that he was forced out of Malta by the French, and would never have attempted his voyage without the passports of the different Consuls of Tunis, and shewing that which he had received from the English, the Admiral tore it to pieces, and loaded the Consul with every opprobrious epithet. Further, that he was removed to another ship, where he was kept between decks, and when he attempted to come up to get a little fresh air, he was ill-used and turned down. That some of the people with him were so much exhausted for want of food, that their lives were in danger.

"The Bey's Minister informed me that he had represented this with a degree of passion, accompanied by tears, that carried a conviction of its truth.

"I heard patiently the end of this ridiculous detail, and gave the following answer: that the whole of the Rais's deposition was fabricated at Tunis in the French fendue. It was exactly their language and not a word of it true, except his being stopped in coming out of Malta, probably without leave. That he had every reason to expect and submit to this detention as the port was at present blockaded by an English squadron, and that I was as yet ignorant what further motives of suspicion of conduct on the Rais's part might have occasioned his detention, after being examined.

"The Minister's reply to this was, that the Rais from his arrival to his reaching the palace had had no communication with the French; and mine that I would pledge myself to prove that he had, and that his own ill humour, for the loss of some things, of which he complained, had made him the dupe of the French and an instrument of propagating such falsehoods.

"I desired that he might be sent to me to be examined, which was complied with; and he was accompanied by the Bey's principal naval commander and several officers, in whose presence he confirmed all that he had represented at the palace, and seemed to have such particular pleasure in repeating the abuse that he alleged had been laid on me at the squadron, that it was with great difficulty the dragoman was prevailed on to interpret it, and clearly evinced by whom he had been tutored since his landing here.

"I have since dined with the Minister and brought him again on this subject, and am glad to find that he seems to have the same sentiments now with me of the Rais's narrative.

"Two Moor passengers were also sent to me, to deliver notes of their effects that had been taken from them; but they add that they were promised to have them restored.

"Absurd as this tale is, I conceive it my duty to report it to you,

that should you think it worth your while to have the Rais punished, by making it a question with the Bey, it is in your power to do it.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"P. M.

"P.S. I have been requested in a particular manner by the Minister, to beg that the Rais's koran may be returned to him if it can be found, none of them go to sea without this, and much more anxiety from superstitious reasons would be suffered from the loss of this, than for any real property."

"TO SIR HORATIO NELSON.

"Tunis, 2nd December, 1798.

"Sir,

"I was so very desirous of having the honour of a personal interview with you, from the impossibility of writing on the subjects which excited that desire, particularly by the present precarious conveyances to Europe, that I had eagerly seized the offer that was made to me of one of the Bey's vessels to go to you, when I heard you were off Malta; but on the morning that this arrangement had taken place, and while I was still sitting with the Bey's Minister, information was brought to him of two sailors who had landed from a Ragusee vessel, having died of the plague, and under this situation of the country, I could not think of going to the squadron. The Bey was equally anxious as myself, that I should have executed this design, but from different motives.

"It is far from being unpleasant to me to observe that his Excellency now feels a great degree of jealousy at the inattention of our nation, and from his former conduct I have not endeavoured by any means to appease it yet. He is in a situation to bend to us, and would gladly now make any sacrifices to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain for his future protection, which he foresees he will stand in need of again from having so lately experienced it. I ought to know their character here, and shall not neglect to manage this present state of disposition.

"The Bey's situation is I believe the most trying that he ever found himself in—struggling against that little policy that governs all his conduct, and which prevents his following an ardent desire to join in the war against the French, and endeavouring also to insinuate in their minds the opinion that when he adopts that measure, that it may be one of necessity, and inevitable on his part in order to moderate the future resentment that he fears, but more especially at this moment, from the extraordinary idea that Buona-

parte's progress against the Turk has raised not only in his Excellency's mind, but generally throughout this country, and without calculating the practicability of events, he conceives it one of no difficulty, knowing that he is on the same side of the water with him, that he might pay him a visit—were he at the Cape of Good Hope, it would by no means allay this apprehension, and until that army be destroyed or wasted away, he will avoid if he can the war, for he knows that you have demolished the means of transporting another to their coast.

"A further inducement to his seeking as much delay as he can, is to see in whose hands Malta will remain, well knowing that if in those of a powerful nation, he must lie at their mercy, and I look forward to the day that it shall be ours, with the most fervent hope of its putting a period to such scenes of unexampled cruelty as I have unfortunately been obliged to be witness to here lately.

"You are now, Sir, perfectly master of the Bey's situation, and I will only add, as I have accustomed myself to predict what his conduct will be under any given circumstances, that he will not be able to resist the first advantage that falls in his way; and that he will inevitably be drawn into the war, but should I be disappointed in this expectation, and you should think any other benefit than destroying his future connexion with France, and preventing every possibility of supplies from him at present, could be derived from it, I am persuaded it would be in your power to lead him into it, when you please; and I pledge myself that it shall be done without disturbing the friendship that subsists between Great Britain and his Excellency at present.

"I am told that there is a report abroad, that the Bey had granted provisions for Malta. You may rely on my assurance, Sir, that he uniformly refused his consent; but I found on inquiry, that a few bullocks were smuggled off in a small bark last summer, and I had the most positive assurance that they should have nothing from hence. On the contrary Tripoli has done every thing for them that it could. I had the honour to acquaint you with this in my letter of the 30th of September.

"Captain Tyler was obliged to leave the launch of L'Aigle at the Bey's arsenal. I desired them to remember that it was not a present, and it is consequently at your disposal.

"I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that his Majesty's affairs continue on the best possible footing here.

"P. M."

"The following paragraph was in the above letter:—

"There is something frank in the Bey's sentiments respecting us,

which I had from a person in his confidence, 'If the English are dissatisfied with me, if we were even to quarrel, they are a generous nation; but with a nation of traitors I can never be secure.'"

"TO SIR HORATIO NELSON, K.B.

"Tunis, 7th December, 1798.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acquaint you that an event has occurred that I conceive has sufficiently entangled the Bey, as I expected, and we shall have him with us in effect now as well as inclination.

"One of his Excellency's cruisers brought in three days since an Imperial vessel from Toulon for Malta, loaded with salt provisions and wine. After two days deliberation, he has condemned her, and made slaves of the crew; but he does not allow that he is at war with the French, however I will take upon myself to promise that he will be. This provision was offered to me at a moderate price for the use of his Majesty's squadron, but notwithstanding it was so very advantageous, I was afraid to meddle with it, from the great uncertainty and unfrequency of opportunities to communicate either with the squadron or Leghorn."

"TO REAR-ADMIRAL LORD NELSON, K.B.

Tunis, 10th January, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I am happy at this opportunity of congratulating your Lordship on receiving those honours, that you have so highly earned and so justly merit from your King and country.

"On the 16th of last month, a Genoese vessel was brought in here by one of the Bey's cruisers, on board of which was M. Lacombe St. Michel, late French Ambassador at the Court of Naples, and about eighty-five French of all descriptions of principle, from the inveterate Jacobin to the hunted emigrant. The vessel was seized and the crew immediately condemned to slavery.

"As I attached myself to Sir William Hamilton's passport from its greater extent, your Lordship's only calling upon the Commanders of His Majesty's ships, I have addressed to Sir William the occurrences in this business, which I have left open if you think them worth your perusal, and request you will do me the favour to forward them.

"The spontaneous acknowledgment M. Lacombe makes in his letter of the treatment the prisoners of war have received from the

Commanders of his Majesty's ships, was a trait highly recommendatory of him to me, as I am as much surprised at an act of justice from a republican, as I should be at one of commiseration or humanity from the people of this country.

"It is a particular satisfaction to me to have procured that respect to British protection that it deserves, and a day of triumph to me in the cause of humanity whenever I can rescue a captive from the hands of these people.

"I have also the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that the Bey after seizing all the French property and papers here, and collecting and imprisoning the subjects of that country, even every person that has been known to wear the national cockade, as well as a privateer that was in the bay, cut down their flag-staff at Tunis on the 4th inst. These precautions prevented any tumult, as the French were removed out of the reach of the populace before it fell. A few days before this event took place, a brig arrived from Toulon, carrying an English jack at the foretop, with an engineer and forty-five artificers, and two pontoons on board, for clearing the harbour of the Goletta. The Bey has set them to work, and promised when they have finished that they shall have liberty to depart.

"His Excellency has desired me to acquaint your Lordship, that you may command any supplies from his dominions that you may stand in need of for his Majesty's service.

"I beg to remind your Lordship that I have my family at Naples, in case of danger threatening that country, and I hope my zeal in the King's service, and confinement here, which separates me from them at this moment, will entitle them to succour.

"I am extremely anxious to have a personal interview with your Lordship on some points that have occurred here, could I know when you are off, or at Malta.

"I have the honour to be,

"P. M."

Major Magra also wrote to the Right Hon. Sir William Hamilton, K.B.

"Tunis, 10th January, 1799.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acquaint you that M. Lacombe St. Michel, late Ambassador from France to the Court of Naples was brought in here on the 16th of last month by a cruiser of this state. The vessel was immediately condemned and the Genoese crew and passengers made slaves, though M. Lacombe was left at liberty to

freight another and continue his voyage. He seemed, or was taught to be flattered, from the custom of this country, where there is no such thing as a small favour, and nothing ever granted, except by reiterated importunity, that the Bey would in the end, restore the vessel and captives to him, who had given him the most positive assurances of protection, and he even under this belief restrained the master of the vessel from flying from the cruiser, and which he was in a situation to have escaped. This naturally made him desirous of being the author of their redemption, as well as other political motives, that withheld him from seeking any other influence. M. Lacombe found himself deceived, and the Bey having at the end of ten days definitively destroyed all hope, he turned, I believe, with some reluctance to me; for he was far from thinking, that France had lost all consideration here, and that he was so near the brink of war. You will see, Sir, by the copies of his letters, which I have the honour to inclose, that I excited in his mind, the proper sentiments of English generosity, obtained that respect for your protection that it deserved, and became afterwards myself in the hour of danger, his protector from a new enemy, as war was declared by the Bey against France on the 4th inst. and the whole of that nation here, its adherents, everything under its protection, of all ages and sex, even those that had ever worn their cockade, were seized as well as their property, and made slaves of, and which would have been the fate of these also, had I not secured their freedom before that war took place. I am particularly flattered by the very gracious manner in which the Bey received my interposition and accorded my request, for it was beyond the limits of demand, and really from all custom of nations, nothing protected in the vessel, but the Legation: the rest had simply the passports of a Government at war with this state and to all intents and purposes captives.

"M. Lacombe having freighted a vessel to go to Toulon, before he applied to me, the rest of the passengers discovered their complexion, and it appeared that there were not above twenty of the number that dared return to France. On being informed of this, I had a further incitement in the cause of humanity, and have defeated any attempt to force the master to pass the port of Genoa in the one they are now gone, which I concerted with the Bey and explained my motive.

"The only passport to which I could attach the right of interference, was yours, Sir, and I availed myself of "'prions tous ceux qui sont à prier" as applying to all nations in amity with the Crown, and of course comprising the Bey. His Excellency expected something more, that it should be addressed to Princes and States. I

assured him I was confident that the passport was given in good faith, and expectation of its procuring the protection of all his Majesty's friends. He asked me if I would state this in writing. I answered, willingly. He then replied, I see you are just and confident in your demand, and I only desire an authenticated copy of the passport and I now deliver up the whole to you.

"My intention was to bring Count Pouschin's passport forward also, which was particularly strong, from being addressed to the Ottomans, and which the Bey desired me to authenticate a copy of, for him.

"I obtained also from his Excellency, contrary to his custom, a passport for the Barbary States on their leaving this country.

"M. Lacombe desired a personal interview at my house, accompanied by a second person on each side, when he confirmed what had before been insinuated to me, of his having, at the risk of his head, saved the garrison of Rierport from being fuzileed, when he was representative with the army, and that it gave him a claim on my country, on which he lavished the most boundless praise for its generosity.

"P. M."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, K.B.

"Tunis, 12th January, 1799

"Dear Sir,

"A calculation by any former scale of judgment or experience, does not seem to answer for the latter end of this extraordinary century. I have learnt at last to cease anticipating any thing that is pleasant, and would gladly check an anticipation of the annoyances that seem to be dealt in such large portions lately to our race. At the moment that I conceived you had reached the best of all shelters that is left in this world from the storms that are abroad, I was informed by your passport for the excommunicated member of your corps that you were still at Naples.

"I have been living in scenes for some time past, not much calculated to strengthen nerves, that have been rasped and worn to the quick, by a journey now of some length, and not in the smoothest roads of life, and often wish for the relief of the corner of your hospitable gallery and the quiet rubber of whist, or the jovial round of swicken, but the course of things in this best of all possible worlds, has so ordained it, that I am to act a whimsical part here, and instead of having my head taken off, after two months quarrelling and vexation, I was taken into great favour, as I am told from

the best cause (a conviction that I was right), and as I have been permitted to exercise it for the benefit of the most unfortunate part of mankind, I am consoled in a situation that it is not every man could bear with composure; but we do not know our strength till we are tried.

"I had the pleasure to introduce to the Bey in his bed-chamber the other morning Lady Hamilton's head. It was the seal affixed to Lord Nelson's passport for M. Lacombe, and remarked to his Excellency that ladies among us were never refused any thing they desired. I beg you will make my respects to her Ladyship, and tell her that the Bey thought her a powerful advocate.

"M. Lacombe has had a pretty thorough fright, and I believe, few men would be proof against that passion, with Barbary slavery staring him in the face. He seems to have forgot in his letter to date the *last* year of the Republic. He will have reason to remember British generosity in his distress, and I hope we shall teach them humanity, and civilize them again some day or other. I have troubled you with the detail of this event as it concerns you, and does credit to our country.

"I am told when he was presented he kissed the Bey's hand. It is a supple nation in adversity. They are completely taken in here, and till the guards were at their doors to seize them, it would not have been possible to have persuaded any individual here, or even in France, that the Bey would have declared war against the great Republic. By this surprise they have lost all their property, and are deprived of every little consolation, that the situation of some deserve. The Bey spares nothing that has ever been connected with them; but his Excellency has been so good as to let me release any from slavery who have not incurred it by their principles, and the English colours have lately done what there is no example of in this country—protected in cases of slavery against the Bey.

"Melemeli from his situation has had an active share in the affairs lately, and has increased my opinion of him by his humanity —but I had a right to expect even this extraordinary trait from him, from his unimpaired gratitude for your goodness to him, if gratitude be the parent of all virtues.

"You will now know the author of two anonymous French letters. Though the cause has passed away, my motive was good and well meant at the time, and among the singular things of these days, the Bey has prayed for some time past, for success to his Sicilian Majesty's arms.

"I neither hear from England, nor do I know which way to write

there. Nothing comes near us, but those brought by misfortune, and we were four months at one time without any news from Europe, and now three without an opportunity to write there. It is an excellent school for patience, if I were not too old to be heartily tired of schools of every sort. You may naturally conceive my anxiety about my family under this ignorance and removed from their assistance; but I rely on your protection for them. You will see what a figure our little State will make soon, in cutting off the supplies to Malta. We have taken two days since a xebeque with their dispatches from thence for France.

"P. M."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD NELSON.

"Tunis, January 17th, 1799.

"My Lord,

"A few days since, an armed vessel with fifty men from Malta with dispatches for France, put in here. She was immediately taken possession of, and fortunately before they had time to sink their letters. The Bey having permitted me to examine them, I have found some of so interesting a nature, that I have thought it my duty to hire a bark on purpose to send copies of the most material to your Lordship. His Excellency has laid me under the most solemn promise of secresy that I will never mention but to our own Government, that he had confided these papers to me. His motive for this I have not yet penetrated to my satisfaction.

"The dispatch of M. Vaubois in cypher naturally attracted the greatest attention, and every possible effort to decipher it, and which has been effected beyond my most sanguine hopes of its practicability, from the separation as well as blending of words. I have subjoined in the translation the first two lines of the original, in case any more in this character should fall into your hands, as from them a decipher may be formed.

"The letter No. 2, is the latest and most interesting that I have yet met with, but not to lose time I shall send off what I have ready and go on with my examination, and if I discover anything more of importance shall have the honour to forward it. The originals as well as all papers of this nature that may fall into the Bey's hands are to be sent to Constantinople. In addition to these details of general want, the Captain's information is, that they had but two ounces of rice a day each individual.

"Barbara, on his examination before the Bey, not knowing that his passport might fall into his Excellency's hands and discover him, affected being an idiot, and as the wit of this country is coarse, he has not only been sent to the works, but a larger burthen allotted

to him, as a fool can only be affected by real corporal oppression. I have extracted what is material from the general return of the Garrison for your Lordship's information.

"In addition to the preparations at Toulon for the relief of Malta, I learn by the master of a vessel loaded with charcoal from Marseilles for that place, chased in here two days since by an English brig, and afterwards lost near Cape Carthage, that ten more vessels were ready to follow him. They are to seize strong north-west winds, when they conceive the squadron cannot keep its station.

"Baccari, an Algerine Jew, who has been some time at Marseilles, has been more useful and enterprising than even the French themselves in this sort of business. I shall write to Algiers about him.

"This moment the master of a Ragusee vessel who put in here on his passage to the Levant, five days from Genoa, informs me that at that port five fast sailing vessels were also loaded with provisions for Malta.

"This country may now, my Lord, be turned to essential use. It will be a powerful check against the relief of Malta, as they will get few merchantmen to run the risk of slavery, and if forced into the service which was the case of the Imperial vessel brought in here, they will naturally seek the first opportunity to deliver themselves up to us if there be any thing near them. It is material that I should have the honour of an hour's conversation with your Lordship on the subject of this State, that we may derive all the assistance we can from them; and if you are off Malta it may be easy.

"It is upwards of three months that we have had an opportunity of writing to Europe, and two letters which I had sent to the coast to be forwarded to your Lordship have been returned to me; from the vessels having declined proceeding on their voyage.

"The reports that have reached this country have occasioned me the greatest distress about my family at Naples; and if I get no intelligence of them soon, I shall be utterly incapable of doing my duty. I entreat your Lordship to think of them in time. I have besides much at stake there, and not in circumstances to bear its loss. The situation of affairs when I returned, rendered it impossible to bring my family with me. It is well known that I came here in opposition to the Bey's reiterated interdiction and menaces. It was even with reluctance that I brought a servant, exposed to share what I had reason to expect, from a haughty and intemperate man. Government may some day know what I have undergone, but as it ended in my reaching an unusual degree of influence, which has enabled me to do so much in acts of humanity, that I am reconciled to my second exile.

"From the situation of Italy I have no means to communicate to his Majesty's Ministers the declaration of war of this State against France. It is some months since I have written, and may be thought from appearances negligent, which I believe I do not deserve. If your Lordship would do me the favour when you write, to say that I have transmitted to you the material occurrences here connected with his Majesty's service I should be obliged.

"P. M.

"P.S. In the instant that I was dispatching my letters an aviso arrived here from General Stuart, and as I have more confidence in this conveyance, than the one I was to employ, I have taken upon myself to give the Captain an order to go to your Lordship, as it is of little importance whether Tripoli receives the notification of Minorca a week sooner or later.

"The French xebeque taken with dispatches is already well manned and at sea under French colours. I could have wished to have got a few hats and French cockades for the crew, as I form great expectations that she will, by not being suspected as a corsair, make a good stroke on the business she is going on, and at least, bring us some useful intelligence. These people are really enterprising, and in a few days we shall have a very formidable force at sea for this country. I have requested their first attention to Cagliari, Genoa, Toulon and Marseilles. His Excellency has entered into the war most cordially, I every day discover new traits of his firmness in the cause, and rancour against the French. Your Lordship may depend on everything he can do to assist your views, and his services strike me as of the utmost importance, in your present object of Malta.

"Your Lordship will scarce believe that in the last year I issued passports to ninety-six cruisers, a thing without example in the history of this country. We have out now by my notes only nine.

"His Excellency has asked me to entreat your Lordship to open an intercourse with him. I before mentioned that he was jealous of us, but he is come on so well, that I to-day assured him, that he might depend on our cordiality, and by the little attention now of a letter to him from your Lordship, you may turn him entirely to your views. He says your frigates have often been to Algiers, and Tripoli, and never come near him. Though he appears to place the highest confidence in me from having made some tolerable good guesses, he could be won to anything by this attention on your Lordship's part. The country is free from all contagious illness, and I have recommended getting some stock together in case you should want it, as well as for Minorca.

"I am so struck with the importance now of Malta falling into your Lordship's hands, that I am extremely anxious to turn this State to the greatest use, in cutting off its supplies. My only apprehension is just at this moment, from the great preparations, the favourable weather, and a determination, I am told in them to sacrifice nine vessels in ten to carry their point. Their orders are, if they miss Malta to push for Alexandria.

"We have further intelligence last night, of many more vessels being taken up at Genoa for the purpose. I should not hesitate going to wait on your Lordship by this vessel, but from my desire to see the present armament off, and that she is not armed, and my being taken at this moment might prejudice our affairs here.

"His Excellency is very desirous of a suspension of hostilities with the Portuguese during his war with France. This was one of my former objects for going to your Lordship. At the period it was proposed to me, I answered his Excellency that it could not be done without he desisted for the same time cruising against Naples and Tuscany, for I confess that I was glad to see that the Portuguese checked his depredations, particularly on the former. The business is now different, and his request is certainly natural and fair when he enters into our service.

"P. M."

"TO LORD NELSON.

"Tunis, 13th February, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that a few days since, a courier arrived from Tripoli, with dispatches that had been sent from Malta and Cairo to their Consul here, to be forwarded to France, was intercepted by the vigilance of the Bey's guards, and his Excellency immediately permitted me to peruse them.

"Great part of those from Malta, were duplicates of those we saw before, with the addition of a few events subsequent to that period. In these papers the different statements of their remaining quantity of provisions, are so much at variance and so remote from each other, that one would suppose those who made the returns did it by guess. The highest says they have corn for twenty months, the lowest makes it sufficient only for eight.

"We further discover that half a million of livres in specie had been lodged at the disposal of the French Consul at Tunis, to employ in procuring provisions by bribery and every other means that that sum could be employed in to accomplish that important object. Two or

three days previous to the declaration of war, an Algerine Jew began payment of a further sum of 60,000 Spanish dollars to the French Consul for the same purpose. That no money was to be had at Malta to pay the troops, and that they had therefore sent drafts on the National Treasury to their Consul at Tripoli, to the amount of 80,500 livres, which could not either be negociated there, and it was desired not knowing of the war with Tunis, that it might be borrowed from the fund established here.

"That a Jew of the name of Costa taken in the xebeque with their first dispatches, and now a slave here, had been sent to Cagliari, with a considerable credit from Pousielgue and Matty of Malta, to buy provisions with ten per cent. commission.

"They desire that all vessels that can be hired at Tunis, may be sent to Tripoli to take in provisions at places appointed, and no expense or efforts to be spared.

"That two of Baccary the Algerine Jew's vessels had arrived from Marseilles, that eight more were ready, and all had the Dey's passports, their dependence was on the winter and blowing weather.

"Buonaparte in his letter to their Consul at Tripoli (of which he desires him to send a copy to the Directory), says that his army was without loss, and without sickness, and himself perfectly well: desires him to send a courier each decade, with all the news and gazettes he can procure, as well as letters he may have for him, to Derne by sea, and from thence to traverse the deserts. Desires him to draw on him, and not to be deterred by any expense from the execution of this order.

"We have also a copy of his letter to the Basha of Tripoli. The Basha's long answer to him and assurances that all his couriers and every thing he had was at his service. Another letter also from the Basha to Renaud de St. Jean d'Angeli, a prostration of flattery and promises of every assistance for the support of Malta; and adds, that the French Consul had been received by him, with more honour and marks of distinction than had ever been shewn to that of any Christian power.

"Berthier in a private letter to his mistress, curses the country and climate, and says that he will leave Buonaparte soon and return to France.

"I believe I have given your Lordship nearly the substance of these dispatches. The letter of instructions respecting the lights, I have had copied, as material to their being defeated.

"I have recommended the courier being stopped here for some

time, in hope of further information falling into our hands before it be known that there are orders to intercept them.

"We here see the present importance of the Basha of Tripoli in their affairs in Egypt and Malta; particularly as he says, that notwithstanding the orders of the Porte, he will not declare war against France; but I am persuaded he will be compelled, and should he, we have nothing to expect from him but treachery, for he is by nature formed for his present alliance and attachment to the French, and one would even conclude that his native principles had received some improvement in the Jacobin school of Robespierre, as he reached his present situation by the usual path of those monsters; the murder of his elder brother, the deposition of the second, and from common report, by poisoning his father.

"It is very material to me to be informed when ports are blockaded, or any increase of our enemies by declarations of war, for my government here. War is said to have been declared against Genoa, but I have it merely from the report of the place.

"P. S. *17th Feb.*—A Genoese vessel sent from Marseilles by Baccary, having got into Malta and discharged her cargo, was taken by a cruiser of this State on her return, and carried into Susa, but having the Dey of Algiers' passport, she has been set at liberty by the Bey. I have examined the master and find that five vessels in all had got in. One with corn, one with wine and brandy, and three with salt provisions, and some merchandise—before the last arrived, they had no medicines left for their hospital, and the number of their sick increasing fast, and that they had began to fuzileer the inhabitants, and intended to clear the town of them.

"P. M."

"TO LORD NELSON.

"Tunis, March 3rd.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to send you herewith eighteen dispatches that were found on board a French vessel from Malta bound to France, and carried into Susa by one of the cruisers of this State. It was with great difficulty that I prevailed on the Bey to permit me to send the originals, to obtain which I have given the most solemn promise that they shall be restored to him, and also that I would send a person expressly to deliver them to your Lordship. His Excellency has marked and numbered them all, and I rely on your

Lordship putting it in my power to restore them again, as soon as you conveniently can. One anxiety of the Bey's to get them back, independent of his obligation to send them to the Grand Signior, is to possess a proof of the Basha of Tripoli's perfidy, with whom he is on the verge of war.

"These people have such quick alternations of hot and cold fits, that it is difficult to manage them. Nothing would have so good an effect, as I have already had the honour to mention to your Lordship as writing a letter to the Bey, and thanking him now for the service he has already done, by the interception of all the dispatches, and recommending his arming to cut off the supplies of Malta.

"I despaired to obtain more than the reading of these letters. His Excellency thought it sufficient, as I could inform you of their contents. Their importance struck me so forcibly, that I conceived nothing but copies, which there was not time to make, or the originals would be of any use, and I remained to-day at the palace from seven in the morning, till twelve, rallied after three refusals, and to my great satisfaction at last carried my point.

"The idea sometimes comes across them, of the consequence of being abandoned by Great Britain, and I confess, I was surprised that his Excellency should remark to me so contrary to the custom of these princes, who conceive themselves the first and most powerful in the world, that 'though France in her marine is almost weakened to nothing, it requires no great force to do us essential mischief, I have nothing to resist a large ship.' I was not displeased to hear these sentiments, and represented the increased necessity for the reduction of Malta, and I hope convinced him that he is full as much interested in wresting it from the hands of the French, as we can be. I have made him perceive that Great Britain having the three points of Gibraltar, Minorca, and Malta, that the southern part of France and all Italy, with our dominion at sea, must lie at our mercy, from the entire annihilation of their commerce, and the necessaries of life being cut off, and in that rests his security, as the French will never forgive him; but I cannot remove from his mind the apprehension that in case of our succeeding, that Malta is to be transferred to another Power.

"I have thus followed up with unremitting ardour, my solicitations to get all his cruisers out, from my anxiety to get the ports watched from whence their provisions are drawn, and on this side to intercept their dispatches; all this a single letter from your Lordship will completely effect. I shew the Rais's when they come for their passports, one important passage to guard, *viz.* between Cape Bon and Mazara, as well as betwixt Sardinia and Bizerta. I

observe all the vessels coming from Malta gain immediately the Barbary shore, as the cruisers never remain on their own coast. From Europe they run down Corsica and Sardinia and make Bizerta.

"I hope General Stuart will use his influence with Algiers to the same end. I am sorry at this moment we have nobody near the Dey to urge him, but a Jew, which of all animals in Barbary is the least calculated for that purpose.

"I am the man in the world probably that would be the most gratified in seeing these States annihilated, and of all others him who has the most reluctance in calling on their assistance. I do it now against a people full as savage as themselves, and that I hate most; and my doing it at all, is a very strong proof to my mind of the fallacy of all human philosophy, and the strongest I shall ever be able to give of my zeal in the King's service.

"It is a corroding anxiety to my mind, to be witness to the treatment of their captives, and to see a whole people, without exception to a man, who would think it a shameful and ignominious act, to treat one of them with lenity, or not to devise every art in his power to increase his sufferings. Among these unhappy wretches here is a man (with his family), who informs me he was active in your Lordship's service when you put into St. Pietro's last year, in providing you with the refreshments you wanted. He was Secretary to the English Vice-Consul there, his name Rocco Rombi. If he was serviceable, as he says, and your Lordship should recollect him, a word from you to the Bey would obtain his liberty, as his Excellency would refuse you nothing. For my part I am obliged to desist, as I have had the satisfaction of taking from their hands since my return forty-nine of one sort or other, which is a thing without example, as I have had nothing to offer in return.

"M. Massel the bearer is a French emigrant, who brought me a letter of recommendation five years since from the late Viceroy of Corsica. He has been nine years out of France, and I believe as great an enemy to the present Government of that country as exists. I beg your Lordship's protection for him in case the present situation of affairs in Sicily should render it necessary, while he may remain there.

"The settled plan of the French of doing every possible injury to the works of Malta, when matters reach extremities, as they promise in these dispatches, is not a new piece of information to me, I had it some months since from good authority, but taking it at that time for their usual rhodomontade, I erased it from the first letter I had the honour to write to you in October last.

"From France we hear that every effort will be made to save Malta and recover Minorca.

"The Basha of Tripoli three or four days previous to his declaration of war, received a present from his good friends at Malta, of a cutter, 8000 Spanish dollars, that they had scraped together, and some of the sacramental silver vessels spoiled from the churches. The day he declared war he permitted a Tartan to depart with sixty bullocks, and now promises to renew his assistance as soon as the chouse returns to Constantinople.

"P. M."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, K.B.

"Tunis, 3rd March, 1799.

"Dear Sir,

"Having some papers of importance to convey to Lord Nelson, which you will of course see, should you be at Palermo; I have been obliged to dispatch a person on purpose in whom I could confide, that in case of being in real danger at sea, he may throw the packet overboard. To this end I have sent a M. Massel, who five years since brought me a letter of recommendation from your friend the late Viceroy of Corsica, and I therefore take the liberty of recommending him to your protection.

"I have the honour to inclose you a memorial for his Sicilian Majesty, from a poor priest in captivity here, and am sure I need not add any thing on my part to engage you in an act of humanity. It is horrible to see from one thousand to eleven hundred of his Sicilian Majesty's subjects in the wretched situation they are in here, but if there were any degrees of comparison in this country, I should say that an example which I believe, will be represented to you and Lord Nelson, to request your interposition with the Bey in one of the cruelest.

"We are still in ignorance of the history of Naples, and my anxiety about my family would be insupportable, did I not receive some relief from the intense application I have been engaged in for some time, and an inevitable necessity of submitting to my detention here. When I proposed to the Bey to go to their assistance some time since, his entreaties and remonstrances to turn me from it were such that there was no getting over them. Now I could go without any disorder ensuing in our affairs here, if I had a conveyance that would not expose me to the danger of being taken at a moment that I may be turned to some use in his Majesty's service, and that such an event would be of some inconvenience to

it, by the necessity of having a fresh man here to transact our business with his Excellency.

"I am not perfectly at ease from the French accounts of the strength of their party in Sicily. I have seen some strong things on this subject; and can only hope they are unfounded.

"It is very unfortunate that the *coup* miscarried at Malta, as all further co-operation within the ramparts is now hopeless, and I should conclude a new plan of operations will be thought expedient. The rapid increase of their sick may soon weaken the garrison sufficiently to render an assault so little hazardous, as to encourage the attempt.

"P. M."

Lord Nelson acknowledged the receipt of the preceding letters addressed to him by the following:—

"TO PERKINS MAGRA, ESQ. CONSUL AT TUNIS.

"Palermo, February, 1799.

"Sir,

"I have been favoured with your several highly interesting letters, which you have had the goodness to send off Malta, together with the important papers relative to the situation of the French in the town of Valetta; and give me leave to say, that your arduous task in keeping the Bey in good humour, and inducing him to act with vigour against the common enemy, deserves more praise and approbation than it is in my power to bestow; and I hope it will be properly noticed by our superiors in England.

"In the present situation of this island, it is to be wished that a truce could be made between his Sicilian Majesty and the Bey; and I have offered to send any person, authorized by his Sicilian Majesty, in an English ship. The Bey has been misinformed that I have sent any ship to either Algiers or Tripoli. You will have the goodness to assure his Highness, that he is the first person that I have sent a ship too. The Venetian Republic being formed, renders the situation of this island the more dangerous; and, if the French get here, to a certainty they will endeavour to destroy Tunis and Algiers. This, with submission to your better judgment, should be pressed upon the Bey and his Ministers.

"Mrs. Magra and your family are here; Lady Hamilton is so good to them, that in truth they require nothing from me; but, whenever they think it right to go to Tunis, a ship-of-war shall convey them. Respecting the purchasing the cargo of provisions

destined for Malta, probably, although it might be bought cheap, yet many of the articles might not suit our ships' companies. Therefore, however desirable, I cannot ask you to purchase any such cargo for us. I have very great hopes that our affairs at Malta will soon be brought to a close, by the surrender of the town; and I have sent two bomb-ships to Egypt to endeavour to destroy the transports in Alexandria, and if we succeed in this matter, I shall have a very respectable force in Sicily. As I expect the Marquis de Niza, the Portuguese Admiral, here every day, I hope he will send a person to talk with the Bey relative to a truce during the war of France, equally desirable to both parties.

"NELSON."[1]

The following was the letter addressed to the Bey:—

"Vanguard, Palermo, 15th March, 1799.

"Sir,

"I have received through the hands of Mr. Magra, his Britannic Majesty's Consul at Tunis, the very interesting letters from the French at Malta; for which I beg leave to thank your Highness, and return them by a vessel I have fitted out for that express purpose. The infamous conduct of the French during the whole war, which it has wantonly waged against all religion and civil order, has at last called down the vengeance of all true Mussulmen, and your Highness, I am sure, will agree with me, that Divine Providence never will permit those infidels to God to go unpunished. The conduct of your Highness reflects upon you the very highest honour; and, if any State has failed to exert its utmost abilities against the enemies of God and his holy Prophet, I rely with confidence they will be your enemies, as they will be of all good men.

"Your Highness is not, I am sure, insensible, that, although I have a squadron of Portuguese ships under my orders, I have, during the whole time they have been under my command, prevented their cruising against the vessels of war of your Highness; and further, that all the Mussulman slaves who were in their ships, have been sent to Constantinople. For at this moment all war should cease, and all the world should join in endeavouring to extirpate from off the face of the earth this race of murderers, oppressors, and unbelievers.

"This necessarily brings to mind the unfortunate situation of his Sicilian Majesty—a Prince, who became an object for plunder in the same manner as the rich provinces of Egypt, from a belief

[1] From the Letter Book. Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 274.

of their inability to resist this horde of thieves. The perspicuity of your Highness's judgment will point out the necessity of all Powers at war with the French, uniting cordially together for their destruction. I beg leave, therefore, to offer the Victor of the Nile as a mediator for peace or truce during the war, between your Highness and his Sicilian Majesty. If your Highness will favour me with your ideas upon this very important subject, I shall feel happy, and am confident the great Monarch, whom I have the honour of serving, will have real satisfaction in having his faithful servant the instrument by which peace should be restored between your Highness and his Sicilian Majesty.

"I have the honour to remain,

"&c. &c. &c.

"NELSON."[1]

And to Perkins Magra, Esq. :—

"Palermo, March 15th, 1799.

"Dear Sir,

"I have received with real pleasure all your very interesting and important letters, from the beginning of January to March 3rd; the great difficulty which I am sure you must have had to keep the Bey always steady to our interest, reflects the highest credit on your judgment and zeal, and will I hope meet with its proper reward from our superiors in England. I send you a letter, written the very beginning of February,[2] the impossibility of sending it by a ship of war, has prevented my finishing it, or your reception of it. I have wrote a letter to the Bey, which I send under a flying seal, the papers are also returned, and I cannot be sufficiently thankful for the perusal of them. As I have given notice to your family of this opportunity, they will tell you all the chit-chat of the place; from the Continent, we know of the very serious insurrection in Flanders, where the French are entirely driven out; in Holland, are likewise insurrections; but I send you the latest papers I have, and Mr. Wyndham's two last letters. The letters you will have the goodness to return by this vessel. As writing is truly a very serious operation to me, you must excuse the shortness of my letter, but believe me, dear Sir, your most obliged servant,

"NELSON."[3]

[1] From the Letter Book. Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 294.

[2] See the preceding letter.

[3] From an Autograph in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Wilkinson. Dispatches and Letters, Vol. iii. p. 295.

Major Magra's continued zeal in behalf of the Maltese, will be apparent from a letter to Captain Ball, and the subsequent ones to Lord Nelson :—

"TO CAPTAIN BALL, COMMANDING THE BLOCKADE OF MALTA.

"Tunis, 3rd March, 1799.

"Sir,

"I return you many thanks for the account of the operations at Malta which you had the goodness to send me. I lament most sincerely the miscarriage of a plan so well concerted for success, and much fear now from what has since fallen into my hands, that all further hope of a co-operation within the ramparts is entirely at an end.

"The papers which I send to-day by a messenger to Lord Nelson, I think will induce a change in your plan of operations.

"There could be no difficulty in procuring you corn for St. Paul's, but the people to whom I have spoken, are unwilling to undertake it without convoy, and I confess for both sides, I think it the surest method; but how could they carry the cotton they receive in payment to Spain without passports from high authority?

"I am extremely anxious to go to Lord Nelson for a day or two, if I could get away. I could be ready at an hour's warning, if any of your small cruisers called in here, by which I might escape quarantine.

"P. M."

"TO LORD NELSON.

"Tunis, 6th March, 1799.

"My Lord,

"Having been informed after I had despatched M. Massel, that a brig, a felucca and speranaro with English passports, had been brought in here, I sent an express to stop his sailing till I had had an explanation with the Bey, and I am sorry to inform your Lordship that it has not terminated to my satisfaction.

"I have obtained with difficulty, and not without great warmth, the restoration of the speranaro and ten Maltese, furnished with Captain Ball's passport; also the liberty of five Corsican officers pensionaries of England, and a Russian Captain, passengers in the felucca, who have been stripped naked by the crew of the corsair, and treated according to custom in the most cruel manner.

"The brigantine, Nostra Signora delle Grazie Simoni de Cesare,

master, the crew and passengers amounting to twenty-three persons is refused to be given up, though protected as I am informed by a passport from Consul Tough, with your Lordship's approbation and signature to carry a cargo of corn and other provisions to Malta. The supercargo, Benedetto Balducci, writes fully to the Cavaliero Forcella of Palermo. This passport has been concealed by the Rais.

"As the Bey pretends that your Lordship has no right to give passports to his enemies, I am persuaded you will think it expedient to explain yourself to him on this subject, and I hope, ta earliest opportunity to send some body to demand a suitable reparation for the violence and ill treatment of these people, and to deliver the brig and crew from their present situation.

"Count Pouschin I conclude, will also, if your Lordship will have the goodness to mention to him the circumstance of the felucca, with a Russian passport which has been destroyed, take some step to deliver the unfortunate crew from captivity.

"It is as difficult to get the prey from the clutches of these people when they have got hold of it, right or wrong, as it would from the claws of a tiger."

"TO LORD NELSON.

"Tunis, 8th March, 1799.

"My Lord,

"Though I sent to stop the vessel for Palermo, till I had an audience with the Bey, she got away in the night, before my messenger reached the Goletta, and I have therefore the honour to inclose my letter of the 6th, that was destined to go by her.

"On the following day, though the festival of the Ramadam, when no business whatever is done, I waited till the Bey retired from public, and requested an audience. Their own evident anxiety about the business of the prizes, I conceived would induce his Excellency to comply, and I was not deceived.

"I had been informed from the most certain authority, that though the Bey, according to custom, supported in public the conduct of the Rais who brought in the prizes, that he had in private given them the most severe reprimand, and his displeasure would have been extended greater lengths, if it had not been restrained by the policy of Barbary, of never openly placing themselves in the wrong, in a contention with a Christian power; and it is an invariable system with them, to defend the first error by the commission of others, and by every other possible act of violence, that you may

be satisfied alone, with getting out of their hands, and relinquishing your property.

"Your Lordship probably not being intimately acquainted with the character of these governments, may not immediately see through the cunning of the Bey's objects, in desiring me to send you a minute of his discourse to me on my audience of the 7th, which I have the honour to inclose by his express desire.

"The present afforded him an opportunity of explaining his grievances, and shewing his jealousy of the neglect, that he conceives has been offered to him. He imagines that the detention of the brig will induce you to send some body here, and that his compliance to restore the vessel and crew may be courted, instead of yielding to the demand I have made; also that the importance of his friendship and assistance, should be understood during the blockade of Malta, and hereafter, when in our hands, as well as Minorca for provisions; and lastly, that his complaints should reach his Majesty through your Lordship.

"I will not presume to say that I am positively right in penetrating all his views; but by the anxious desire he has shewn of my sending you these minutes, I am under the fullest persuasion what I have mentioned make a part.

"However desirous I may be myself of seeing somebody here from your Lordship, that I may be instructed in some points, in order to my drawing in the service by the right cords, instead of being left to my own devices, ingenuousness calls upon me to declare that the Bey's first object is to draw some confidential person from you, and it may possibly produce some good to his Majesty's service.

"On the above-mentioned audience, his Excellency dismissed all his attendants, except his Minister, and his late Ambassador to England, and at a moment that he seemed disposed to give up the vessel, he asked their sentiments, and they both opposed it. The latter in the evening reminded me not to neglect sending the Bey's discourse to your Lordship. A positive fact is, that he is doing a thing that he cannot resist, from a strong prepossession of carrying his point, and at the same time is afraid of the consequences of his experiment, and wants somebody from your Lordship with whom he may explain it away and extricate himself, for his Excellency is certainly in a situation to yield to us, and will not contend any point to extremities, and I have observed to those who I know will repeat it to him, that your Lordship's measures are quick and decisive, and that I fear his present experiment will draw him into difficulties.

"As his Excellency does not admit your Lordship's right to give

passports for the vessels and property of his enemies, it is unfortunate if you have a firman to that end from the Grand Signior, that it was not signified to him either by the Porte or your Lordship. Till this difficulty be removed, all cargoes for Malta might be shipped in an English name, and the crews called Anglo-Maltese, but you may employ twenty Neapolitan vessels if necessary, by an arrangement with the Bey.

"In order to remove as much inconvenience as possible from his Majesty's subjects, and to afford as much protection to foreigners as can be given, when they navigate with British passports, there is much circumspection required in the nature of such passports; first, that there be some uniform appearance of a seal or stamp, which these people are particularly attentive to, for the slightest dissimilarity of two from the same person falling into their hands, gives them an opportunity to indulge their favourite turn for litigation, and there is no rank or situation, that shelters a person who falls into their power from very ill treatment while this is pending.

"Passengers should always have separate passports, and no person whatever expose himself to meet with these robbers without one.

"They seem lately by indiscriminate and extreme severity, to wish to establish a terror of them, and it is high time that the powers of Europe should think of putting a stop to depredations that are increasing to such general inconvenience. The Rais now have orders to bring in every thing they meet with, to try if they can make good prizes of them here. If they even be given up afterwards, it is not without being first plundered of everything that can be carried off. For my part, with the most ardent desire to serve his Majesty any where that I can be useful, I fear that I cannot longer support my situation here, from the excessive cruelties that I am obliged to be witness to, and being the daily refuge of the unfortunate. There only remains the consideration whether the Bey has not the right from treaty to stop this vessel. As an Ally he subjects himself to general reproach from throwing difficulties in the way of operations, that he should be equally zealous in assisting. I have said this to his Excellency, and used every argument that occurred, even to asking him what he conceived his situation would be with the French (who will never forgive him), should Malta remain in their hands. But he thinks he can explain his conduct away, and seems determined to draw your Lordship's attention to him.

"The Bey is by far the best reasoner, and the most politic man in his dominions, and an accomplished disciple of Machiavel, without ever having heard of such a person or his works. He has remarked that integrity in politics is perfect nonsense; that the

cleverest person is he who can deceive with the best address, and who stops at nothing to carry his point.

"P. M."

"Minute of his Excellency, the Bey's observations to his Majesty's Consul at Tunis, in his audience the 7th March, on his demanding the restitution of the cargo, crew, and brig, Nostra Signora della Grazie, under Neapolitan colours, and a passport from Admiral Lord Nelson, brought in here by one of the cruisers of this State.

"His Excellency informed me that no power in amity with him, could claim the right of giving passports for the vessels and subjects of his enemies. Did I think that he could give a passport to the enemies of Great Britain, and that it would be respected? Were this admissible, it would be in your power to put an end to my making reprisals, for you have the same right to give such passports. Indeed you are the only person I can know, who brought me a letter of evidence from your King, and there is only the difference of title of Agent or Ambassador. Why should I therefore pay more respect to this passport signed by his Majesty's Ambassador to the King of Naples and to the Admiral, than to yours? (His Excellency shewed me Consul Tough's passport, with Lord Nelson's approbation and signature, which he conceived was Sir William Hamilton's.) That if such passports could be given, he might leave off cruising against them.

"That his Excellency had lately given a very strong proof of his respect for English protections, by having restored upwards of an hundred persons, brought in here by his cruisers.

"That if he had been applied to for passports for three or four Neapolitan vessels for the service of his Britannic Majesty to carry provisions to Malta, he would have granted them. It was right that we should think of his interest, as well as our own.

"That in the present case of the brig loaded with provisions for the English part of Malta, it appeared by the bills of lading, that she was freighted and loaded by Neapolitans. It was a commercial transaction seeking a profit, and the property of his enemies. I will send the vessel if you choose it, to Malta, and sell it and her cargo, that they may not be disappointed.

"That the armament that took these prizes, had cost him 40,000 piastres, and if they were all given up from having English passports, that expense must fall on him. 'I have restored you eighteen slaves and the sparanaro.'

"That when Admiral Waldegrave took the French ships at the

Goleta, the French Envoy endeavoured, by every possible means, to induce him to declare war against England, made offers to a very considerable amount,[1] and also warlike stores of every sort, as well as officers and men to assist him. That he resisted all this, though we had violated the neutrality of his port. That he did not wish to seek embroils.

"That we have brought a squadron of the ships of his enemy, the Portuguese, into this sea, which had taken two of his cruisers. It is true the Rais had been set at liberty, but instead of restoring his subjects to him, they had been sent to Algiers, as if he was not as worthy of this respect as the Prince to whom they were sent, and whose subjects they were not.

"That a great deal of the property of his subjects had been taken from them by our cruisers. That he had sent an Ambassador to England to represent and claim this. That it had been promised to be restored, and that the Consul would be instructed to settle this business, but no farther notice was taken of it, and he conceived that I never wrote to my Court to represent these matters. Formerly there were not these difficulties, every thing went on well.

"That a vessel coming from Marseilles with his own flag, and the property of his subjects had been taken by a privateer off Gibraltar, and ordered by the Governor of that place to be restored above ten months since. That this vessel neither appeared, though it was well known that she was lying rotting near Leghorn. That I had often informed him that I had written by every vessel that had gone from hence since the month of July last, but they saw nothing yet of her or their effects. 'You must not therefore be surprised if I follow your slow example in complying with demands of justice and redress.'

"The Bey desired me to acquaint Lord Nelson with all that he had said, and request his Lordship to send some person to arrange the business of the vessel detained here with his passport, in expectation of which he would suspend the sale of her cargo.

"I followed the Bey through his discourse, and answered each article.

"P. M."

"TO LORD NELSON.

"Tunis, 9th March.

"My Lord,

"Being at Bardo to-day, the Bey sent twice to me, to desire I would wait till he retired to his private apartment, as he had something of importance to communicate to your Lordship.

[1] 400,000 Spanish dollars to his Excellency, and 50,000 to his Minister.

"His Excellency informed me that he had received two couriers from his agent at Tripoli to acquaint him, that a French corvette of twenty guns had arrived there from Alexandria. That an officer had landed, and had a private conference with the Basha, which was supposed to be to induce him to open a communication by Derne to Cairo. For my part, I conceive from other reports, that it is to concert a retreat for Buonaparte to Tripoli, which could be rendered practicable by the Basha only, and there is no doubt, I believe, of his falling into the measure. The Bey is certainly apprehensive of something, and it must be of some importance, to induce him to go to his present expense. All his field artillery, which is formidable for Barbary, is ready to take the field. He is also forming a strong body of Militia, and what is extraordinary, gives them pay, and the citizens even are ordered to practise daily firing at a mark.

"As his Excellency is on very bad terms with the Basha of Tripoli, and knows him to be treacherous enough to assist Buonaparte's retreat, which is the only thing that can render such a desperate measure practicable, I feel fully persuaded that this is his present apprehension, and the cause of his preparations.

"Two French officers arrived there some time since by land from Cairo, probably to prove the practicability of the passage of the army; but certainly to negociate something with the Basha.

"I beg your Lordship will examine the Corsicans who go to Palermo, that proper notice may be taken of the manner in which they have been treated under the character of British subjects."

"TO LORD NELSON.

"Tunis, 16th March, 1799.

"My Lord,

"On being informed that the Bey had sent the supercargo, master and crew of the brig to the public works without discrimination, I went to Bardo, and requested the Bey would give me a private audience when his public business was over.

"I informed his Excellency that I did not return to him on the subject of the brig, as his Majesty's Consul, as I had already stated every thing I could possibly say in my public character, and now waited on him as a private individual desirous of preventing any misunderstanding between two Powers, who for their common interest ought to draw together in a cause that should naturally unite them. I then asked his Excellency what he conceived would be

the sentiments of his Allies and of all those who should hear it, that instead of assisting in that cause, he had taken a most ungenerous advantage, and stopped the food of the people who were fighting for us. That whoever advised him to the measure was certainly an enemy to his honour. His Excellency heard me with the greatest patience, and told me that I had placed the affair in a new point of view to him. I requested him then to consider it, and I would wait upon him the next day, and take his definitive answer. His Excellency replied no—let your speranaro sail first, send the news I have given you to the Admiral, and when she is gone come to me.

"I should infer from this, that my conjectures have been founded, and that his intention is to restore the vessel after the sailing of the speranaro. But we may be deceived in this. The Bey and his Minister are acting from different motives. His Excellency the dupe of the artifice, that by stopping the vessel he will draw somebody from your Lordship, in the hope of getting his grievances redressed, particularly a prize at Lungune, which has been decreed to be restored to him a year since, and which I am really ashamed has not yet appeared. The Minister with the hope that by producing a misunderstanding, the property may remain in his hands, as he is unfortunately proprietor of the corsairs who took it, and a man of the most inordinate avarice and inflexible obstinacy.

"It is unfortunate for our public affairs that his Excellency is so much influenced by this person, ten thousand times his inferior in understanding, particularly as he has a turn for never leading him into a good action. We must excuse it here, as it often happens among the civilized part of mankind, that sensible men are governed by blockheads. When I can get his Excellency entirely to myself, I am sure to carry my point, but his favourite watches me so close, that he lets this happen as seldom as possible, and has been lately endeavouring to produce a coolness between the Bey and me, of which I have apprized his Excellency. When I found matters taking an unfavourable turn, I endeavoured to reduce the evil as much as I could, and requested the Bey to give up to me Padre Greck, the bearer, his nephew, and another Maltese, which he complied with.

"It is impossible that these people who sailed under the confidence of your Lordship's passport, can be left in their cruel situation. The bearer who has experienced but the mildest part of it before they were sent to the works, will give you a description sufficiently affecting to excite your interposition. A remonstrance from your Lordship against this conduct, I should hope would effect their

liberty and the surrender of their property, and which should be written in Italian. This step in my humble opinion should precede all others.

"Their invariable system is to take every advantage they can, insensible of the restraints of honour, justice or humanity, and it is nothing but the strong arm of England that reaches so near them at present, that renders them less frequent lately respecting ourselves. Their friendship is fear, and though they hate us all, we are at this moment their dearest friends.

"I am this instant informed of two feluccas with Captain Ball's passports, having been met with by a corsair, one of which was run down and the other brought in here. I shall have the honour to inclose farther particulars of this.

"As I cannot pretend to judge what your Lordship's sentiments may be respecting an infidelity of this nature in his Majesty's Ally, or what consideration you may annex to the Bey's services or use now, or in the supply of provisions hereafter, I have thought it my duty to apprize you first, what I conceive to be his views, and secondly of the character you have to treat with; and can only add, as the business rests now entirely with your Lordship, that should you conceive you have a right to carry matters to any length, should his Excellency be obstinate in defence of the honour of your passports, that you will put me quite out of the question. Indeed my escape from this country in case of a necessity that would excite suspicion would be very difficult, but I could easily manage that of the rest of his Majesty's subjects here, and I should be exceedingly mortified to be the smallest impediment to your asserting his Majesty's rights and honour.

"P. M."

"TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

"Tunis, 17th March, 1799.

"Dear Sir,

"I have the honour to acquaint you that a felucca with a Russian and Turkish passport was despatched from Otranto to Corfu by the inhabitants of Apulia, to testify their fidelity to their Sovereign, and to request such succour as might enable them to defend that part of his Sicilian Majesty's dominions. Don Gennaro della Gatta was charged with this mission. Five Corsicans, pensionaries of England, who were residing at Barletta when the troubles commenced at Naples, took their passages in this vessel, which was met with half a league distant from Corfu by a corsair and brought in here. They have suffered everything that you can imagine that could be

inflicted by these remorseless robbers, and have lost all they had with them, and even their persons stripped to nakedness.

"Not being able to obtain that redress that I had a right in my duty to demand, for persons identified by passports as British subjects, after long and unavailing application, I desisted from going any more to the palace, and assigned this reason to the Minister for thus withdrawing, and can only recommend them to you, Sir, as men who have suffered much, and who are real objects of commiseration. As their pensions are under your direction, I have the honour to inclose a note of the expense I have been at for them, which was for necessaries barely sufficient for their voyage to Palermo. Captain Colunna is from illness obliged to remain behind, and requests you will have the goodness to order his salary to be paid here. The rest of their unfortunate fellow-sufferers, particularly Don Gennaro della Gatta, can be released only by being claimed by his Sicilian Majesty from the granters of the passport, which the Rais of the corsair according to custom has destroyed, and a certificate sent from them to the Bey.

"Candour, however, obliges me to say, vexed as I am, that the Bey is exceedingly exasperated at this event, and has imprisoned the Rais and crew of the corsair, and even bastinadoed some of them to make them deliver up their plunder, but to no effect. This shameful conduct towards people whom they have restored to freedom under the consideration of being British subjects, requires at least a sharp reprimand and compulsion to pay their losses; but I know not enough of the situation of our affairs to judge whether it be a moment for chastisement or temporising.

"M. Corbara, one of the Corsicans, will give you a very curious account of his being obliged to pass *malgré lui* in Apulia, for the Prince Royal of Sicily, and at the same time a proof of the enthusiastic attachment of the people of that country to their Sovereign.

"P. S.—I have the honour to inclose the notes of the losses of the Corsicans. They have conducted themselves here with the greatest patience and submission, and even reluctance to put Government to any expense on their account. Their miserable pensions will certainly not be able to replace what they have lost, or bear the stoppage of the expense I have been at for them. If you think, Sir, it would be allowed by Government I will charge it, or probably the charge might pass better from you, Sir; otherwise I shall willingly be at the expense myself from the wretchedness of their situation, and the extreme modesty they have shewn, under trying distress, in their application to me for relief. Their accounts that have been

brought to me amount to 523 piastres, or about £35 sterling, and I believe there is still something more.

"The conclusive part of their memoir contains an account of M. Corbara being taken for the Prince Royal.

"I have been requested to trouble you with the inclosed letters for his Sicilian Majesty. How can I refuse it from the wretched authors?

"P. M."

"TO LORD NELSON.

"Tunis, 20th March, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I had the extreme mortification to hear two days since, notwithstanding the promise that was made to me, to leave the vessel, cargo and crew heretofore mentioned, merely in arrest till your Lordship's answer should arrive, that they have distributed some of the captives, and destined one of them, a boy, as a present to Algiers. I confess this looks very unlike their intention of restoring them, and I know not what to ascribe this sudden change of conduct to, if it be not from the arrival of a courier from Algiers, the day before this took place, as my letters to-day from thence inform me that the Bey had refused to let us have any provisions from Minorca, unless two prizes that were lately taken from his Jew subjects were restored. Moreover, that a privateer of Gibraltar having put into Oran, and a dispute arising between some of the crew and the people of the country, a Moor was killed, in consequence of which the whole ship's company were seized and sent prisoners to Algiers, that Captain Hope after a short conference with the Bey, had carried off all the English vessels empty, and had gone to Lord St. Vincent. As there is a constant intercourse and confederacy in conduct between the two States, I should apprehend the Bey may be influenced by the letters he has received from thence and may become more intractable. Another event immediately succeeded this, which was an order to stop all cruisers from going out to sea, after his Excellency had been at the expense of arming six of his largest. On hearing this I went to the palace to-day, to discover if possible the cause of this change of conduct. The Minister informed me that affairs in this sea seemed to be in such confusion, that the Bey had forbid any more crusiers going out, till matters were explained and put upon a footing that would present misunderstandings, that we in particular should feel much inconvenience from this, as their small cruisers were much more useful in intercepting the intercourse with Malta, than

our large ships could be, which are seen at a distance and more easily shunned. That I might judge of their use by their already having in their two months war above two hundred French slaves.

"It did not require any great depth of penetration to understand him, and I am convinced this is by no means the reason, but that a principal motive is that they are alarmed at the intelligence they have had from France of all the forces they can scrape together at Toulon, being ready to come out to make a descent somewhere, and also that seeing the temper of Algiers, and that the Bey has slackened in his zeal in the war, even to letting all the French out of confinement, his Excellency is shaping his conduct by him.

"As uniformity of conduct, is the last thing I should ever expect here, I must naturally expect they will veer round again, and shall try what can be done with their two passions (fear and interest), as they have no more, and one of them so sensibly awakened, that the other must turn them towards us, and if my health and spirits hold out, I hope to be enabled to give your Lordship better accounts soon, for I cannot bear the idea of letting them snap in my hand in this manner, after getting them so well forward.

"P. M."

"TO LORD NELSON.

"Tunis, 23rd March, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I feel the liveliest sensations of gratitude, from the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 15th inst. and learning therefrom that my family is under your protection: my mind is now at ease, and I shall resist better the harassing life I lead in reasoning with mules. I must get these people well hooked before I can trust my family here. Every body thought the other day by his Minister's conduct respecting the prizes with your Lordship's passports, that the Bey would be drawn into a rupture; and I do believe such an event would produce a revolution in his country.

"I am also highly obliged by your Lordship's handsome expressions respecting my humble efforts, to be as useful as I can in the King's service, and for the political communications you have honoured me with. By the opening an intercourse with us, my arm is strengthened, and I hope I shall get on well, if these people can be turned to any use.

"By my preceding letters your Lordship will be informed of the situation of affairs on the arrival of L'Entreprenant, and her arrival had nearly brought matters to a serious misunderstanding.

"Half an hour after her appearance in the bay, I set off for the

Goletta, in order to prevent her falling into quarantine, if it were desirable. I found Lieutenant Sweney had been at the castle with your Lordship's dispatches, and was refused leave by the Aga to proceed to Tunis. On my arrival there, the Aga also informed me that I could not go off to the cutter. I consequently sent a person to Lieutenant Sweney to desire him to withdraw. He acted with the greatest judgment, by throwing an officer on shore with your Lordship's packet, made sail at night and lay under Zimbra till the next day.

"Just as I had set out from the Goletta, a messenger arrived from the Bey, with orders for the boat to be permitted to pass, and salute the Commander if he landed: but I persevered in not going off after the insult of being stopped, and returned to Tunis. In the morning I sent my dragoman to the palace, and he found the Court in the utmost consternation at this measure.

"I had informed them repeatedly some time since on my being stopped at the Goletta, that if it ever happened again, I should pursue the conduct which I have now executed. It was a trial betwixt his Excellency and me. On his part to make me demand a passport whenever I chose to go off to the bay, that he might be apprized of my motions; and on mine a determination *coute qui coute* not to submit to this disgraceful innovation, though I know that I landed a prisoner in this country till their claims on England are satisfied.

"I left his Excellency in the consternation that I was informed he was in till near 12 o'clock the next day, when I waited on him and remained two hours, carried all my points, and came off victorious, and have now established such regulations that not a moment's further impediment can happen to the service, and it is a particular satisfaction to me that by all this business, not the least time whatever has been lost, for had I got off to the cutter, I could not have reached Tunis till the next morning, or the Bey, till the hour I was with his Excellency.

"Whenever your Lordship in future may have occasion to send any ship here; that is not to be exposed to quarantine, a letter may be thrown on shore for me, and the Aga of the Goletta, has orders to forward it by a fleet horse immediately, and I will either go myself or send my messenger to receive your Lordship's commands. If the ship may be subjected to quarantine, orders are given to the Aga to allow an officer to pass the instant she anchors, without waiting for the Bey's permission, and if I go down myself to go off, no further impediment can happen. My quarrel and measures have produced these regulations, so well calculated to expedite the service in future.

"On the arrival of any of your Lordship's squadron, if a jack be

hoisted at the main-top, and a gun fired, I will answer it with a red ensign, as the most conspicuous from my flag-staff, and which may be seen from the bay. Two guns if the vessel be not to be put in quarantine, will enable me to take the necessary precautions. I submit this to your Lordship, merely for the first occasion that you may have to send here, after which I shall be obedient to such regulations as you may be pleased to honour me with. To prevent delay when I have finished my business with the Bey, I have troubled your Lordship with these little details, though necessary to report to you.

"The morning after the arrival of the cutter, I delivered into his Excellency's hands your Lordship's letter. He made me translate it to him, was much pleased and very gracious. When we had gone through all the news I asked his Excellency how soon I could be honoured with his answer. He replied that it was an object of importance, in which his interest was greatly involved, and which required mature consideration, that in the way that I knew his time was filled up with indispensable duties, he could not give it in less than two days. I sent again to-day, represented the necessity in time of war of accelerating the service, and proposed a conference with himself and his most trusty counsellors. His Excellency has appointed Monday morning, and I have made notes of the heads of a discourse to his Excellency, and if I do not deceive myself by over sanguineness, I hope he will be induced to comply with your principal proposition, but under terms that may at present I fear be extravagant to a preclusion, or the secondary as a mark of good will and disposition of compliance with your Lordship's wishes.

"P. M."

Lord Nelson wrote from Palermo to Perkins Magra, Esq. April 14th, 1799, stating that matters were in a train for restoring a peace or a truce during the war, so that neither himself nor the Bey should be covering enemy's property. He inveighs against the cruelty of taking provisions sent by Sicily to succour the Maltese, and desires the Consul to exert his ability on this point. His Lordship also on the 31st of May wishes that he was Commander-in-chief for one day in the Mediterranean, that he might represent the high opinion he entertained of Major Magra's proper and manly conduct with the Bey of Tunis, and distinctly states that the passports he had granted were not to cover merchants or vessels of war from any attack of the Bey's cruisers, but had been given with a solemn assurance, that the vessel was *bona fide* carrying provisions and dispatches for the support of those who were fighting

the enemies of his Highness as well as those of the King of England and his Sicilian Majesty. His conduct he declares to have been *firm, open, and generous.* He offers to be instrumental in making a fair and honourable truce with his Highness and Portugal, and insists upon his passports being respected; he gives this his determination as that of a British Admiral, and concludes by assuring the Consul that his Highness has been advised by him to think right, and to hate the French.

On the 2nd of June, Lord Nelson wrote to the Bey of Tunis to the same effect.[1]

[1] Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson, Vol. iii. pp. 328, 369, 371, 382.

END OF VOL. I.

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